Talking of Peace *The Editors*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

April 17, 1965, 35 cents

Spring Books

Norman Mailer's Dream

Van Wyck Brooks as Critic

Measuring Mencken

Lytton Strachey's Essays — *John Wain*

Hakluyt's Voyages — *P. M. Kendall*

Old-Time Radicals — *Joseph Featherstone*

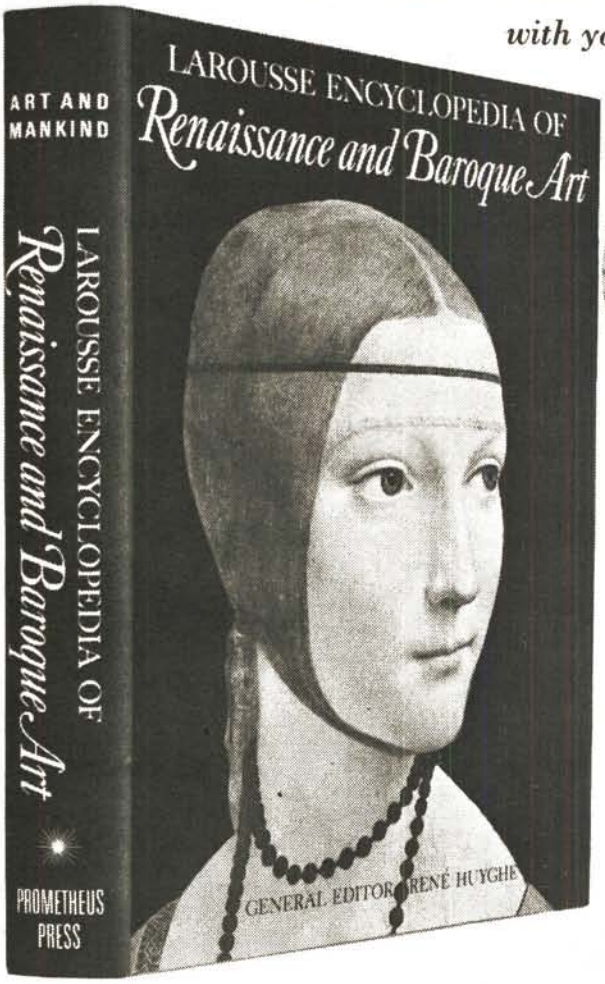
& James Ridgeway, John Updike, Frank Getlein, William Jay Smith, J. M. Edelstein, Stanley Kauffmann

NEWSPAPER NE
BURLINGTON OI VT
UNIV OF VT
SERIALS DEPT
GUY W BAILEY LIB

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS MAGNIFICENT COLLECTOR'S VOLUME AVAILABLE FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ENGLISH IS YOURS FREE!

with your first selection from the HUDSON BOOK CLUB


ART AND MANKIND
LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF Renaissance and Baroque Art
LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF Renaissance and Baroque Art
PROMETHEUS PRESS
GENERAL EDITOR RENÉ HUYGHE

- *Published at $20.00* • *10 years in preparation!*
- *1214 illustrations!* • *Giant-sized (8½" x 11")!*

Here is an unprecedented opportunity for you to own *free* one of the most beautiful and comprehensive books ever published on the art of the Renaissance. Available for the first time in English, the *Larousse Encyclopedia of Renaissance and Baroque Art* begins when the great Gothic cathedrals were still being built. It traces the development of art in the Western world during the age of the greatest geniuses of painting—the calm contemplation of Duccio, Cimabue and Giotto; the delicate grace of Botticelli; the seductive frivolities of Fragonard and Boucher; the grandeur of da Vinci, Michelangelo and Rembrandt. Their works, and the paintings, sculpture, architecture and similar artistic forms of other masters of the time, are *all* included in this incomparable volume. The text is lucid and authoritative. There are 1214 illustrations superbly reproduced in full color and monochrome. In itself, the *Larousse Encyclopedia of Renaissance and Baroque Art* is a work of art—and it can be yours free with your first selection from the Hudson Book Club.

NO OBLIGATION OFFER. *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Renaissance and Baroque Art* is typical of the values offered regularly to members of the Hudson Book Club. If you would like to have this extraordinary book free, simply choose your first selection from the list of books below. If not delighted by both books, return them within two weeks. Your membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation. The club takes all the risk.

ONLY THREE MORE SELECTIONS WITHIN A YEAR. The Hudson Book Club pools your buying power with that of other discerning members who share your tastes. By means of low members' prices and free bonus books, you save *an average of 50%* on the very books you would otherwise purchase at full price.

ACT NOW

Don't wait! Mail the coupon below today while free copies of the *Larousse Encyclopedia of Renaissance and Baroque Art* are still available.

THIEF'S JOURNAL. By Jean Genet. Strange hymn to inverted passions. "I do not fear to call this book the most beautiful Genet has written"—Jean-Paul Sartre's Fwd.
List, $6.00. **Members' Price $4.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT ART. In one monumental volume spanning all the ages, cultures and races of mankind from the dawn of human society to the Fall of Rome. 750 illustrations, many in color. List, $17.95. **Members' Price $9.95**

IN THE BEGINNINGS. By H. R. Hays. Monumental study of our early ancestors and the gods they fashioned out of their darkest urges. 565 pp., 116 illus.
List, $10.00. **Members' Price $6.95**

THE DANGEROUS SEX. By H. R. Hays. The story through the ages of man's great hostility toward woman, and the sexual persecutions, myths and literature behind it.
List, $5.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

THE TREASURE OF OUR TONGUE. By Lincoln Barnett. A fascinating account of the English language and its universal importance today.
List $5.95. **Members' Price $4.75**

THE PATHS OF CULTURE. By Kaj Birket-Smith. A study of human culture, its conditions, laws and the forces that guide it. 616 pp.; 143 illus.
List $10.00. **Members' Price $6.95**

FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE. By Simone de Beauvoir. The landmarks of her life by the author of **The Second Sex**—Sartre, Algren, Camus, the Algerian War, vivid memoirs of a remarkable age. 650 pp.
List $10.00. **Members' Price $5.95**

HENRY MILLER TRILOGY. Tropic of Cancer, Tropic of Capricorn and **Black Spring** by Henry Miller—complete boxed set of the "modern American classic."
List $20.00. **Members' Price $9.95**

TEMPLES, TOMBS AND HIEROGLYPHS. By Barbara Mertz. 5000 years of Egyptian archaeological history, focussing on Queen Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, Akhenaton, etc. 25 photos, 46 line drawings.
List, $6.95. **Members' Price $4.95**

LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL ART. Ed. by Rene Huyghe. The art of 1000 years in a highly prolific age. 416 pp., over 1000 illus., 36 in full color.
List, $17.95. **Members' Price $9.95**

ASIATIC MYTHOLOGY. By J. Hackin. Lavishly illustrated survey of Asian myths by the greatest French Orientalists. 369 plates, 15 in color. List, $12.50. **Members' Price $7.95**

A TREASURY OF ART MASTERPIECES. Ed. by Thomas Craven. The most highly praised art book of our time in a magnificent new edition. 650 reproductions (161 in full color) of the world's greatest paintings.
List $8.95. **Members' Price $5.95**

EROS DENIED. By Wayland Young. A history of sexual behavior. "A remarkable, brilliant and revolutionary book."—J. Donald Adams.
List, $7.50. **Members Price $5.45**

PSYCHOPATHIA SEXUALIS. By Richard von Krafft-Ebing. The first all-English edition of a classic work on sexual deviation; over 200 case studies. 512 pp.
List $7.95. **Members Price $5.95**

THE CONDITIONS OF PHILOSOPHY. By Mortimer J. Adler. Diagnosis of Philosophy's past failures and present disorder; with an exciting program for its much brighter future.
List $5.95. **Members' Price $4.50**

GREAT AGES OF ARCHITECTURE. By Bodo Cichy. 2500 years of architecture from Greek temples to New York skyscrapers—an incomparable view of Western art. 729 illus.; 10" x 13". List $25.00. **Members' Price $14.95**

THE WORLDS OF EXISTENTIALISM. Ed. by Maurice Friedman. "In my opinion this is an excellent anthology, the best to appear so far on existentialism."—James Gordon Clapp.
List, $7.95. **Members' Price $5.50**

LAST EXIT TO BROOKLYN. By Hubert Selby, Jr. A forceful novel of modern urban degradation—"a vision of hell so stern that it cannot be chuckled or raged aside."—N.Y. Times.
List $5.00. **Members' Price $3.95**

ETERNAL EGYPT. By Pierre Montet. A history of mighty Egypt—of Pharaoh, slave, empire and exotic gods. 168 illus.
List $6.95. **Members Price $4.95**

THE MEDIEVAL WORLD. By Friedrich Heer. The high noon of medieval life, 1100-1350, recreating courtly love, art, science, and ideals. 100 illus.
List, $7.50.. **Members' Price $5.50**

ANTI-INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Richard Hofstadter. 1964 Pulitzer-Prize winning work on the threatening rise of anti-intellectualism in the U.S.—this eminent historian's second Pulitzer Prize.
List $6.95. **Members Price $4.95**

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT WITH COUPON

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 VARICK STREET, NEW YORK 13, N.Y.

Please enroll me as a Trial Member of the Hudson Book Club and send me **free:** LAROUSSE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE ART. As my first selection, send me, at the low Members' Price:

_____
(ENTER YOUR FIRST SELECTION HERE)

If for any reason I decide not to remain a member, I may return these books within 2 weeks and my membership will be cancelled without cost or obligation.

If I elect to remain a member I need choose only 3 more books at reduced prices during the coming year, and will be under no further obligation. Thereafter, every 4 books I accept from the Club will entitle me to a free Bonus Book of my choice.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

☐ Please bill me for my First Selection plus shipping charge.

☐ My check for First Selection is enclosed (Club pays shipping). Same cancellation privileges. NR-100

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How 2^{67} for The National Observer Changed Our Lives

Thousands of families are now getting more information and more reading pleasure from this new kind of national weekly newspaper. The following account gives some idea of what you can look forward to, if you take advantage of our very special trial offer. To do so, use coupon below.

By a Subscriber

FOR YEARS I was shy in groups, even at home. Didn't enter into conversations easily. By the time I'd collect my thoughts to venture an opinion, the group's talk would pass me by.

"A few months ago, I sent for a trial subscription to The National Observer, that wonderful new weekly put out by The Wall Street Journal people. I hoped that regular reading of such dependable and varied information would give me more self-assurance. I *hoped* for this — but didn't really expect it. To my surprise, I have discovered that The National Observer more than lives up to my desires.

"There is a wealth of significant, useful and entertaining information every week. It is authoritative, wholesome and unslanted . . . written so interestingly that when I finish an issue the information is *mine*. I easily take part in almost any discussion of politics, science, books, movies . . . keep up-to-date on theater, art, medical findings, fashions, household problems, economic events and many other subjects.

"Busy as I am, I don't get behind on my reading, for The National Observer wisely gives me all this in relatively few pages that I can manage very conveniently.

Wives love it

"And I'm not the only one who gets a lot out of The Observer. Just the other day my wife clipped an Observer item describing 12 fund-raising ideas for clubs and organizations and took it to her club's finance committee meeting. She stopped correcting our little Billy's baby talk after she read in The Observer why experts advise parents against it. She says it's the most helpful news publication she's ever read.

Teen-agers use it for school

"Not only that, our teen-age boy and girl enjoy it and use it in their school work. It's a pleasure to be able to pass along to them a paper free from sensational crimes and scandalmongering. John was impressed with the new facts brought out about auto seat belts at The Stapp Car Crash Conference. Betty was tremendously interested in what college presidents had to say about the point of a college education for women.

"The whole family has so much more in common to talk about now. Sometimes we're still lingering long after dessert, discussing whether you can eliminate poverty by passing laws, or whether carpets in the classroom are a frill or an economy.

"We're just a changed family since we discovered The National Observer."

Winner of award for fine reporting

So many National Observer families are talking like this. Why don't you join them? See why The Observer won the 1964 Supple Memorial Award "for excellence in reporting."

The National Observer is published by Dow Jones, the same world-wide news-gathering organization that publishes The Wall Street Journal.

Since The Observer is printed simultaneously on high-speed newspaper presses in several of the Journal's own modern printing plants across the country — and because newspapers can be "made up" and printed faster than magazines — last minute stories can be included only hours before the paper comes off the press.

You get more news — in a compact, full-size, single-section newspaper. And you get more out of it. The large newspaper format permits not just one major "cover story," but five or six. Inside pages are important news pages too — there's no "letdown." Well-written headlines let you learn a lot quickly and invite easy browsing for the stories that interest you most. More than 50 excellent pictures, reproduced with sparkling clarity on our own special crisp-white newsprint, open windows not only on the people, places and events in the headlines but also such amusing sidelights as a 5-year-old boy washing his St. Bernard dog in the family bathtub . . . or the ingenious statuettes a Westport man fashions out of railroad spikes.

Many enjoyable special features

Each week, too, The National Observer brings you more than a dozen special features that add to your enjoyment or broaden your knowledge in important areas. "The Week in Washington," for example, can be read in seven minutes or less, yet brings you up to date on significant happenings in Congress, the White House, Government agencies, the courts and politics. Similarly, "How's Business?" fills you in quickly on important trends in industry, the performance of the stock market, and other economic indicators.

For Bridge enthusiasts, there's "Better Bridge"; for crossword fans, a really challenging puzzle; for recipe collectors, a gem or two almost every week in "Food for Thought." "A Chat With the Doctor" brings you helpful medical hints on subjects ranging from snakebite to hiccups. And the whole family will enjoy the dry humor of "Grass Roots Philosophy," culled from the home-town press. ("Keep smiling! It makes everyone wonder what you've been up to.")

Send no money . . . just mail coupon

But you really have to try The National Observer a while to appreciate how much it can mean to your whole family. So you are invited to accept the special Third Anniversary trial offer below. You needn't send any money now — just clip, fill out, and mail the coupon.

Special Third Anniversary Offer: Try 25 Weeks for Only 2^{67}, barely more than HALF PRICE

That's less than 11¢ a copy. Send no money — just fill out, and mail coupon.

THE NATIONAL OBSERVER **AM-238**
1015 14th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005

Please send me The National Observer for the next 25 weeks and bill me at the special Third Anniversary rate of $2.67 — just about HALF the regular subscription rate. (Note: This offer for new subscribers only.)

Name_____
(Please Print)

Address_____

City_____ State_____

SATISFACTION GUARANTEED: If you are not completely satisfied, you may cancel at any time and the unused portion of your subscription will be refunded.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Bombs or Bank Notes

★ Long narrow room; green walls; gold drapes; green carpets; suffocating crowd; arrogant TV pylons stuck before podium; briefing begins at 4:30. . . . It's the White House theater on the eve of the President's Baltimore speech on Vietnam. He will make it at nine.

Texts appear; reporters snatch like fish at bait. It's mimeographed, six pages; tough line, we "will not be defeated . . . will not grow tired." And then, on page 4, two words stand out like neon lights – "unconditional discussions" – we will talk peace, and Hanoi doesn't have to halt attacks.

There is a lot more to it; eloquent enough if we weren't losing the war: the proposal for a billion-dollar regional development plan that would include North Vietnam. Bombs or bank notes? But "unconditional discussions" are the key words.

"Any questions?" asks George Reedy. They explode in a dozen accents. It's a tough assignment for the government spokesman. He has to pretend nothing has changed though the whole landscape has altered. "Unconditional," he discloses, really includes two conditions: an independent South Vietnam, and no negotiation with the Viet Cong, the nationalist guerrillas. It is just an "agent," he says.

A stocky reporter rises from the *NYTimes*. He speaks in cold anger. The whole world for months, he says, has been asking America to specify terms; why wasn't this statement made two months ago? The spokesman says lamely there is nothing new in this, and the reporter retorts, grimly, You mean you have given us no news? The jammed audience laughs, rather brutally.

At Baltimore the President speaks feelingly, unsmilingly. There is the usual evangelical fervor. He is impressive. No use to complain, "Why not before?" Mr. Johnson appears to have made an agonizing decision. He has opened an escape hatch. Or, to change the metaphor, he has tried to cross a peace dove with a war hawk. It will be an interesting hybrid if it works. "Appeasement" cries start instantly, of course, and Hanoi spurns the billion-dollar carrot. Well, that's inevitable, at first. At least we have made a new approach.

Reform Does Come

★ We don't know that we can communicate our emotions at seeing the Johnson New Deal sweeping through Congress. You have to spend a lifetime in Washington to understand, almost believing that great social reforms can't come. Then they do come.

Take medicare. Every industrial nation on earth is ahead of us on this. Emperor Franz Josef backed it. Bismarck introduced it in Prussia and the conservatives enacted it; why? to block socialism! The richest nation on earth avoided it, probably because we were the richest. "We don't need health care here; we have the highest medical competence in the world!" people said. How many realize that right now, today, America ranks *eleventh* in infant mortality? – not a record for money bags to brag about.

Doctors are the nicest people on earth and yet, from first to last, the AMA fought progress. Federal aid to states in 1930 to reduce infant mortality, AMA said, "tended to promote Communism." It called FDR's original social security act a "cruel hoax" in 1935. (The NAM said it meant "ultimate socialistic control of life and industry.") In 1939 came the Railroad Retirement and Unemployment system. "A definite step toward either Communism or totalitarianism," said AMA's spokesman.

Doughty little Harry Truman in 1945 saw Congress defeat his national compulsory health insurance plan. "This opposition has only delayed and cannot stop it," he said. Gradually social security broadened. "A serious threat to American medicine," mourned AMA. In 1953, the government required that the states' crippled children's services should provide diagnostic services for any child, rich or poor. "Socialistic!" said AMA.

Poor old Ike made his own special recommendations on health, recoiling from the idea of compulsory insurance. He just wanted limited government reinsurance to enable private companies to broaden their coverage. The AMA told a House committee it could be "the opening wedge toward socialized medicine." The House killed it, 238-134 in 1954.

If we sound moved, try to imagine living a professional lifetime in Washington, reporting items like that. America only discovered "poverty" in the last three or four years. Congress, you remember, rejected a Kennedy health care bill for the elderly a couple of years ago.

The current bill covers those of 65 or over. It's been a long, slow way. But can anybody seriously believe that AMA will cease crying "Socialism," or that progress will stop with the oldsters?

The Most Archaic

★ What's wrong with the states? Two national foundations want to know. Two inquiries are under way. All right, we'll tell them. State legislatures are probably the most archaic features of the entire American political process today. State constitutions are antiques. Louisiana's has 200,000 words, has been amended 439 times, and includes a map of state highways in the text. California's has nit-picking details: how many rounds for prize fights; how to tax nut-bearing trees.

State legislators are miserably underpaid. Some law-givers introduce annual shake-down bills, to encourage pay-offs by lobbyists. Some Connecticut solons recently collected unemployment insurance; there was an outcry, but a ban on the practice never got to a vote.

Most lobby-ridden state legislatures have too many committees. They have brief, arbitrary, fixed sessions.

Finally, they are a crazy-quilt of rural-dominated malapportionment.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 152 Number 16 Issue 2630 April 17, 1965*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1965 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

THE WEEK – Talking of Peace; New Weapons, New Experience; Their Master's Voice; Aid to Education; Teach-Ins; Toward Peace in Cyprus 5

The Nonaligned Afghans
– *Stephen Hugh-Jones* 10
Boycotting Alabama
– *Andrew Kopkind* 11
Dirksen's Double Play
– *Paul R. Wieck* 13

SPRING BOOKS – *Reviews by Quentin Anderson, John Wain, Joseph Epstein, Joseph C. Featherstone, Paul Murray Kendall, Gerald W. Johnson, James Ridgeway, J. M. Edelstein; poems by William Jay Smith, John Updike* 15
ART *by Frank Getlein* 38
FILMS *by Stanley Kauffmann* 40
CORRESPONDENCE 42

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Books and Arts Editor – Robert Evett
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, Andrew Kopkind
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Stanley Kauffmann, Murray Kempton, Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative — Roland Gomez, Murray Hill Advertising Inc., 64 East 34th St., New York, N.Y. 10016

Talking of Peace

Clinging stubbornly to its thesis that the Viet Cong are murderous brutes with little will of their own who are mounted and supplied, commanded and controlled by Hanoi, whose "support is the heartbeat of the war," and that Hanoi in turn is an agent of a China bent on pursuing what President Johnson last week called a wider pattern of aggression, the Administration has nevertheless at last professed willingness to talk with any government about the war in Vietnam, without preconditions. But lest this be misunderstood as weakness, the President said flatly he does have a condition in mind, that one of "the essentials of any final settlement" would be "an independent South Vietnam." He thus seemed to repudiate the 1954 Geneva endorsement of a unified Vietnam. White House spokesmen insist that no new policy has been enunciated, but that denial does not do the Administration full justice. In fact, the line hitherto has been a contemptuous "Talk? Who is there to talk to?" Plainly a less starchy tone has been adopted under domestic and allied or other foreign pressures. Some Congressional mail has been running heavily against US policy in Vietnam, and Mr. Johnson made it clear that his Johns Hopkins speech was in response to the appeal for a peaceful settlement made by 17 nations the week before. Probably it is hoped to transfer the disapproving weight of world opinion from the US to the Chinese and North Vietnamese, if they now refuse another Geneva conference or some similar forum.

Both the US and the Communists have from time to time accused the other of violating the 1954 Geneva agreements. The truth is that both have cheated. The Communist view is that the US robbed Ho Chi Minh of a unified (and Communist) Vietnam in the moment of victory over the French, by giving military backing to the Diem government in the South, which not only refused the free elections called for by the Geneva agreements but established a dictatorship whose ruthless behavior compelled the Viet Cong to resume guerrilla tactics. This picture is tendentious – the North Vietnamese government has never held free elections – but probably it gets more credence in the world than the US picture, which Mr. Johnson again painted last week, of a small brave "nation" victimized by external aggression. Much of the world also does not subscribe to the official Washington view of South Vietnam as a "nation"; or to Mr. Johnson's theory that "since 1954 every American President has offered support to the people of South Vietnam." What the United States has offered is support

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for various sets of rulers in Saigon, some of whom have had only indifferent popular support but all of whom were willing to cooperate with the US. Moreover, the US commitment was not, until quite recently, intended to go beyond aid and advice to what has become direct American participation in the fighting.

If a Geneva-type conference of governments is assembled, the President may have to eat some of his words. For the Viet Cong, with whom the Communist Chinese advise Mr. Johnson to deal, and whom the US apparently would not allow to attend on the score that they are only "an agent" of Hanoi, are in control of about two-thirds of South Vietnam, just as they were in 1953 at the time of the French collapse. They gave up their strongholds then; they are not likely to repeat the performance, even if Hanoi were to tell them to, without strong guarantees of an equitable share of political power. The prime minister of South Vietnam, Dr. Phan Huy Quat, told American correspondents the other day in Saigon that his "terms" to the Viet Cong are their "unconditional surrender." How is both that surrender *and* a peaceful settlement to be brought about? So far, the President dare not hint at the possibility of the Viet Cong being included in a new South Vietnamese government, lest it shake down the present regime in Saigon. By all means let there be a conference of governments to discuss Vietnam, for the fighting there ought to stop before it escalates further. But no amount of discussion can alter the likelihood that if the Viet Cong despite their hold on the countryside are excluded from governing there will still be civil war in South Vietnam, and that if they are allowed in the government they will do their utmost to take it over. The Geneva accords have not, and could not have, prevented the current dismal situation in Laos, where the Pathet Lao (led by a Laotian prince) control most of the country mainly because they are opposed by feudal, military and secret-police factions which continually fight and intrigue among themselves. In both instances, what confronts us is civil war and *not*, as Mr. Johnson says, "an attack by one country upon another."

In short, it may not be possible to preserve South Vietnam as a viable, independent, sovereign and non-Communist entity, no matter what guarantees against "outside interference" are sought or obtained at a new peace conference. And "independence" as the be-all and end-all of US diplomacy has its shortcomings. When we get down to it, what is the common denominator of the "independence" of, say, the US, Yugoslavia, Honduras, Cuba, South Korea?

President Johnson last week did, however, outline proposals for Asia emphasizing regional collaboration rather than national independence. He suggested what sounded very like a Marshall Plan for the area, from which Hanoi could benefit – if it were to accept the partition of Vietnam. It is not to be expected that China will react kindly to a plan which amounts to a consortium of industrialized countries including Russia helping to develop Southeast Asia on lines which would diminish Chinese influence among the non-Communist countries while strengthening Titoist trends to independence in North Vietnam. But China is not the fish Mr. Johnson hopes to catch. The plan is obviously baited to hook Hanoi: if it will only lose its interest in "liberation" of the South, it can have American aid and put an end to Americans blowing up North Vietnamese railway bridges and power plants. The carrot is as tempting as the stick is frightening, but our guess is that neither will persuade Hanoi to change its ways.

But, if the bold regional development proposal is seriously intended, and Congress approves it, a start could be made with programs in lands that border on the Mekong. North Vietnam, as it happens, is not one of them. The river can provide food, water and power on a scale to dwarf the Tennessee Valley Authority. If North Vietnam today refuses to pay the price of admission, as did Poland 20 years ago, the welcome mat can be left out; and years hence Hanoi might find herself looking on hungrily at a slowly rising tide of prosperity, and be tempted to come in. The immediately important thing is that the Administration, however belatedly and under whatever spur, has taken the first step that may lead away from the existing dilemma of escalating the war or being driven out of Vietnam.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Weapons, New Experience

"Our men are professionals doing a professional job. They do a year in Vietnam – six months in the field and six in a higher headquarters – and when it is over, inevitably they say it has been the most rewarding tour they've ever had. They go home seasoned and matured. . . . Few of our junior officers have had combat experience, and combat is the best teacher. So they are learning more in a year there than they could learn in their classrooms in a decade."

– JIM LUCAS, *Scripps-Howard*

The war in Vietnam has brought into use weapons, troop organizations and more especially tactics quite unlike those in World War II and correspondingly puzzling and sometimes disturbing. Most disturbing, certainly, was America's supply to its South Vietnam ally of three types of nonlethal gas and the announcement that there had been three occasions when they were used against Viet Cong guerrillas. In varying degrees they affect mucous membranes and produce (to quote Secretary McNamara) "sneezing, coughing, headache, tightness in the throat, nausea . . . may also cause irritation to the skin . . . more severe irritation . . . usually accompanied by pains in the chest, choking, and violent coughing." On the average, one of these types incapacitates for periods of a half-hour to two hours, another for three minutes, another for from five to 15 minutes. Such gases were used by the military police at the Berlin Wall, by the British in Cyprus, by our own military in the Koji-do war-prisoner riots in Korea.

The most significant innovation in Vietnam is not gas but military helicopters, particularly the armed types, and the new aspect is in the great multiplication of the "choppers" in Army units. To the indignation of the Air Force, the Army's air branch (wholly distinct from the Air Force) has provided the Army with new mobility in a new dimension and on a grand scale, and thereby also with new field tactics. A considerable body of men and equipment (thanks to metallurgy's production of very light weapons) now is moved as readily by light plane and helicopter as it used to be moved by Army trucks – much more swiftly and readi-

As a British Observer Reports the War

Saigon

If tear-gas were all that is being used here, this war would be considerably less nasty than it is. There are, however, other weapons in daily use which produce far more terrible results than tears and sickness.

Today there are nearly 200,000 South Vietnamese refugees from the hills and jungles packed into the safety of the coastal cities. American authorities here sturdily maintain that this vast exodus is because the Viet Cong are driving people from their villages. In part this is true – but only in part. Many of these refugees are fleeing from the American bombings.

I have seen napalm used here. I have sat in a helicopter above the battlefield and watched this dreaded fire take hold. It burns up even the rice in a wet paddy field. I have also seen a napalm victim. This man had caught the full ferocity of the napalm bomb's liquid fire. His body had been awash with the stuff. From his scalp to the soles of his feet, his skin was peeling as if from an obscene suntan. Yet he survived. That is, perhaps, the most horrible thing about napalm and white phosphorus: though the body is virtually drowned in flame, the victim tends to live.

The "Lazy Dog" – God knows what military wit dreamed up that ghastly title – has been used here for some weeks, and this is now officially admitted by the Americans. It is a large canister which explodes 30 feet above the ground, and sends up to 10,000 steel darts scything through the air. Each of the darts has flights attached to it, so that it can spin at high speed. It can kill over an area of 800 square yards. Beyond that it merely maims, amputating a leg more swiftly than could a surgeon's knife.

It seems the Americans are now starting what amounts to a "scorched earth" war in the central highlands of South Vietnam. Unable to defeat the Viet Cong on the ground, they are trying to burn them out from the air. It is not at all a bad method of doing the Communists' job for them, by alienating the population of South Vietnam.

– ANTHONY CARTHEW, *The London Sun*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ly when river or swamp or otherwise difficult terrain is to be passed. The early helicopter was thought of as hopelessly vulnerable to enemy fire, but improved craft and the new tactics (moving so close to the ground that the helicopter is a visible target only briefly) have altered that. It still is vulnerable but the figures of actual casualties are surprisingly small.

Of surface vehicles the relatively new M-113 personnel carrier is the most striking improvement. It is amphibian, and an efficient means of moving men quickly even where there are no roads, and where there are streams to cross. In the Mekong Delta in Southern Vietnam it has been valuable, despite difficulties of novice drivers in scaling a soft muddy bank; older drivers simply find easier banks, and ingenuity has provided a winch-and-cable for anchoring ashore to help the vehicle clamber to solid ground.

The new M-79 grenade launcher (it "shoots around corners") and its equally new grenade is accurate for 700 yards, with a highly fragmented burst smothering everything within a 15-foot radius.

The Air Force thus far has made limited use of its newest planes, simply because, as is the case with the other services, the Vietnam war does not demand them. There is a better use of the night flare; dropped from aloft, it ignites at 1,500 feet altitude and throws a tremendous glare on all below. The flare sinks toward earth at about 500 feet a minute, which means that the fighter-bomber planes must move over that illuminated area beneath the flare with great dispatch, spotting their targets of opportunity and firing on them and darting away. It would seem that the planes in such a flight would be fully exposed to the enemy's ground batteries, but they are almost immune, because the flares are of 750,000 (and latterly over one million) candlepower, and the ground gunner is blinded by them; the bomber-pilot is unaffected by the glare.

The Navy's role, best known from the activities of the aircraft carriers and the destroyer patrols of the Seventh Fleet, also includes extensive use of its amphibian landing craft in new applications. In Vietnam the LST (landing ship tank), LCVP (landing craft vehicles and personnel), and the larger LCM (landing craft mechanized) are used widely in the rivers to support shore forces with supplies or with gunfire. The experimental "airboat" (which Floridians knew as the swamp-buggy) has been on trial for several months; it is a very shallow draft vessel propelled by an airplane propeller and it can travel through shallows which would defy any other vessel of its cargo-lift. It is too early to say that it will be finally adopted. And it is much too early to talk of other weapons and equipment with which all three services are experimenting in the field. One important anti-aircraft weapon, developed long after World War II, is in accepted use by both Marines and Army. This is the Hawk, a singularly effective ground-to-air missile.

The new weapons, as remarked, are few. But they are being put to use in ways not tried in World War II, or even for different purposes. This applies particularly to napalm, the incendiary used in World War II with appalling results against cities; the giant fire-storm raid on Tokyo in 1945 caused far more fatalities on the spot than did the A-bomb at Hiroshima or Nagasaki. In Vietnam napalm has been used, rather, against woods concealing Viet Cong rendezvous and training areas, exposing them thereafter to easy observation and surer bombing. Nobody pretends that napalm is anything but a hideous weapon.

Their Master's Voice

President Johnson's style of doing business is disconcerting to cabinet officers who set bravely off in one direction only to be stopped short by the White House which wants them to go somewhere else. Last week high officials of both the Departments of Interior and of Health, Education and Welfare were unhappily trying to explain why they were reversing policies.

Soon after becoming President, Mr. Johnson told Stewart Udall to make oil policy. Recently Udall decided to exempt New England and Florida from restrictive quotas on residual fuel oil. This fuel is in demand for firing boilers of industrial and electric power plants and for heating large buildings, since it is cheaper than coal. The coal industry naturally opposes its use. A few weeks ago, Udall's proposed decision was sent around to the White House and to interested government agencies, where apparently it aroused little interest. Then word of the plan leaked out, and members of the New York congressional delegation (that state wasn't included in the exemption) along with representatives of the coal industry, raised hell at the White House. Discussions followed between Udall and Lee White, counsel to the President. White advised Udall that the proposed plan stood on shaky legal foundations. Suddenly, it was abandoned.

Meanwhile, Mr. Celebrezze the Secretary of HEW was squirming in *his* hell hole. Senator Muskie has a bill to strengthen the government's feeble air pollution control program. One controversial section would require auto manufacturers to equip all autos with the same exhaust control devices which California will demand of them beginning next year. In a report on the bill last December, Mr. Celebrezze sturdily declared, "Considering the present extent of the automotive air pollution problem and the speed at which it is growing, effective control of these emissions is needed now." The people who work on air pollution in government generally took this to mean that the department

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supported Muskie; they worked on this assumption.

In his February message on natural beauty, the President said, "One of the principal unchecked sources of air pollution is the automobile. I intend to institute discussions with industry officials and other interested groups leading to an effective elimination or substantial reduction of pollution from liquid-fueled motor vehicles." He carefully avoided supporting Muskie's bill, and there were some suspicions at the time that he intended to get voluntary compliance from the industry, in line with his consensus theory of government.

And apparently this was exactly what the White House had in mind, for last week James Quigley, assistant secretary at HEW, reversed Celebrezze and testified against the exhaust control provisions of the Muskie bill; he said such legislation should be put off indefinitely and that there was a good chance for voluntary compliance. Later in the week, the Automobile Manufacturers Association said that, if Congress insisted, they *could* put devices on all cars.

Probably the automobile manufacturers want to keep clear of any federal regulation; and they might see a voluntary compliance program as a good way to get rid of an antitrust investigation the Justice Department recently began. The department wants to see whether the auto makers conspired to drag their feet in developing anti-pollution systems.

But voluntary compliance is a bad joke. Several years ago, when Mr. Ribicoff was Secretary of HEW, he was angered by the industry's refusal to put anti-pollution devices on crankcases, and he threatened legislation. The industry said it would voluntarily comply. But Ford took the crankcase devices off its cars, and more than a year went by before someone discovered they were missing. HEW wrote Ford, which contritely promised to put them back on this year. By coming down on the side of voluntary compliance the Administration is jumping right into the auto industry's lap.

Aid to Education

The Administration's education bill, marking a major breakthrough in the financing of public and private elementary and secondary schools, may have reached the White House by the time this is read. The federal subsidy which it authorizes will add $1.3 billion to the $26 billion these schools were expected to spend during the next academic year.

It is true, as some Republicans charge, that the new legislation will help poor children in rich districts more than poor children in poor districts, because the amount of federal subsidy is geared not only to the number of poor children in a state, but also to the average amount of money per pupil that a state spends on education. The higher this average expenditure, the bigger the federal subsidy. This is supposed to encourage states to spend more of their own funds on schools. It means, however, that a poorer state will get less for each needy child than a richer state, even though the poorer state may devote a larger share of its comparatively meager resources to education. The Administration feared that a formula based solely on fiscal need would have given almost all federal dollars to rural rather than urban districts, and particularly to the rural South. No such division would have been acceptable to urban Democrats, traditionally the staunchest friends of federal aid to education.

Teach-Ins

For those who like their rebellion leavened with instruction, the teach-in is the perfect compromise. Among styles of protest it is all the rage this month: the University of Michigan had one, so (naturally) did Berkeley, and last week there were half a dozen scattered teach-ins from Buffalo to East Lansing. They are usually aimed at ending the war in Vietnam, and they take the form of all-night marathons of lectures, seminars and organizational meetings.

The genesis of the idea seems to be the "Free University of California," which was born during the Free Speech Movement's all-night sit-in last fall in Sproul Hall on the Berkeley campus. While the 800 students were sitting-in, they availed themselves of modest instruction in folk, cinema arts, and other courses suitable for young rebels. Joan Baez, the minnesinger of the movement, brought along her axe for some personal tutoring in folk singing.

At Michigan, some 3000 students and teachers met at 8 p.m. to hear learned lectures on Vietnamese village culture and perhaps slightly less scholarly critiques of American foreign policy. At midnight, the teach-in moved outside the lecture hall into the "diag" for speeches in the polemic style. From 1:30 to 6 a.m., there were seminars, and then a final plenary session was called to form a "Faculty and Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam." There were still 500 enthusiasts on hand for an 8 a.m. rally on the "diag" which ended the teach-in.

Supporters of the teach-in say that the faculty participation (indeed, instigation) assures a certain control, not to mention educational value, that last year's forms of campus protest did not have. The demonstrations also appear to get grudging approval from college administrations. As automated instruction replaces personal teaching on the campus, the teach-in may become obsolete. But by then, someone may have invented a teach-in machine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Toward Peace in Cyprus

The United Nations mediator in the savage civil war between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the genial Ecuadorian, Sr. Galo Plaza, has come up with recommendations for a solution that might work. What both sides in the 16-months-old quarrel needed was Instant Face-Saver, and the plan that Plaza submitted to the UN Secretary General implies moral victory for everybody.

On the surface, it is a carefully balanced Byzantine Compromise. In reality, it is a bold suggestion that Cyprus reappraise its local and international responsibilities in the name of Mediterranean peace, then start all over again. The Greek Cypriots must voluntarily shelve their century-old agitation for union (*enosis*) with mainland Greece, and instead choose independence. This would placate the 18 percent Turkish Cypriot minority, backed by Turkey, who dread political and social limbo should Greece annex the island. In return, Cypriot Turks must abandon partition threats and agree to relinquish disproportionate minority privileges which Greek Cypriots feel have consistently hamstrung parliamentary legislation and normal state business ever since the former British colony gained independence five years ago.

This would mean radical changes in the structure of both the constitution and the state itself. Also up for probable abrogation would be three tripartite treaties with Britain, Greece and Turkey which guaranteed the original constitution and until now have maintained the status quo. One of the treaties gave Britain sovereign military bases in the island, an issue which may prove a tough talking point in the projected negotiations. Plaza envisions a demilitarized Cyprus.

Mediator Plaza suggests that the UN itself guarantee Cyprus's independence, and at the same time establish a permanent UN watchdog group to insure minority rights. He rejects local Turkish claims that peaceful coexistence with the 80 percent Greek Cypriot majority is impossible. What Plaza has offered is a loose basis for talks between both sides on any level, but the proposed settlement must be approved by all factions in the dispute, and finally, an island-wide referendum under UN auspices.

"A MODEL OF RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COEXISTENCE"

The Nonaligned Afghans

Kabul

Where was the Western press, normally so vigilant for the clink of Chinese money, when China's foreign minister Chen Yi last month signed a $28-million loan agreement with Afghanistan? Barely a line recorded a deliberate intrusion into what, geopolitically, ought to be one of the world's sensitive areas: a buffer state between Russia and Pakistan, and one that has a common border with China. One, moreover, where a quiet but expensive Russo-American cold war has mellowed into a textbook model of Russo-American coexistence, indeed almost of cooperation.

Yet for the wrong reason – they just don't have correspondents in Kabul – our sleeping watchdogs may have been right.

The Chinese loan is not large set against the extraordinary sums showered upon Afghanistan's maybe 12 million people by other countries: in 1964-65 some $60 million from Russia, $35 million from the United States, $14 million, mainly West German, from other sources. Yet it is large by Chinese standards. Pakistan has just had a well-publicized loan twice as great – for nearly 10 times as many people. And the Afghan loan came soon after a border agreement, and was accompanied by a "cultural" agreement that Peking no doubt intends to mean what cultural agreements with China usually do.

So why not worry? To answer that, one should travel to Kabul as I did recently, and see the effects of years of Russian, American and German economic rivalry. I went by bus (Afghan-owned, American-aided bus, of course), a wearisome journey through the Khyber Pass, past the historic forts that guarded the Northwest frontier of Britain's Indian empire, along a twisting road of which the kindest thing to say is that it is tarred and that two vehicles can pass abreast on it. That is a lot to say in these regions. Cross the frontier and it is nothing. For 150 miles a superbly engineered, American-built highway swept us up to Kabul.

To the traveler from Pakistan this is a new world, the world of Soviet Central Asia. There is the same mixture as in Soviet Asia of turbanned and pajamaed tribesmen, young girls in not quite elegant Western dress chattering into their jobs in banks and offices, a scarf over their black hair the only memory of the all-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concealing tent-like garment that reputable Afghans thought proper for their women 10 years ago. There are the square, graceless mud buildings cheek by jowl with faded Victorian stucco and the equally square and graceless modern buildings which, when they aim for grandeur, have very much the monumental heaviness of post-Stalinist Soviet architecture. Russian cars are everywhere. To the north, another highway, Russian-built this time, leads toward Afghanistan's developing industrial area near the Soviet frontier.

The pervasive British influence and affection for Britain, to be found in India and Pakistan where Britain actually ruled, is completely absent. Instead, one can still detect echoes of old hostility. Afghanistan's foreign policy is nonaligned to the point where it infuriated American officials last December by sponsoring a hostile UN resolution on the Congo. The Russians, its creditors for at least $200 million, need only lean on it and it would crumble: yet in the shadow of its huge, one-party neighbor it is creating a very fair, and genuinely intended, version of a Western-style democracy.

This is the work of the man who on the face of it has most to lose, 50-year-old King Mohammad Zahir. He has been king for more than 30 years, boss only for the last two since he ousted his cousin and prime minister, Sardar Daud. Daud was a modernizer but a one-man band – he broke the power of religious conservatives, and it was he, unaided, who brought the young ladies of Kabul into the light of day. He was also prone to imprison those who disagreed with him. By 1963 the discontent of the growing intelligentsia promised the king enough support to force Daud out. He chose instead a commoner, Dr. Mohammad Yousuf, a mining engineer educated in Germany. Last fall he brought in a new constitution.

The constitution, drawn up mainly by a brilliant young official who is an alumnus both of Cairo's Al-Azhar University and of Columbia Law School, is an amalgam of Western liberalism and Islam. It promises Afghans unknown freedoms: a free press, an independent judiciary, the right to form political parties – provided they conform to the principles embodied in the constitution, which, since Islam is one, would rule out an open Communist Party. There will be a largely elected parliament – elections are due later this year – and an administration which, though outside the parliament, can in extreme circumstances be voted out of office. The king retains considerable power, but all other members of the royal family (Daud, for instance) are barred from politics.

The Russian reaction has been extremely muted. Moscow was sorry to see Daud go, but Russian economic aid continues. It was at its highest level ever in 1964-65, though there are signs that the Russians may be becoming less keen to incur future commitments, and one incentive for taking the Chinese offer was a shortage of foreign exchange untied to specific projects from any other source. But effectively Russia and the United States are jointly financing a country, on Russia's borders, that is moving, internally, our way.

And "jointly" means what it says. Though projects are mostly divided by geography – the Russians work mainly in the North, Americans in the South – the facts of life have mellowed former rivalries. Russians and Americans cooperate in overall planning. They worked closely together in creating Kabul's new airport. They have mapped separate parts of the country from the air; but where the survey areas met, they helped each other.

Meanwhile the Afghan government pursues its own way, relatively little influenced by either, partly because both have learned that it is not worth trying. It is this that makes me hopeful that the Chinese, who will certainly try in spite of all their promises that their aid carries no strings, will be no more successful. At the government level, that is. If internal democracy were to bring political instability, and they set their minds to exploit it, that might be another story.

Stephen Hugh-Jones

Boycotting Alabama

Sometimes Dr. Martin Luther King hears a clear call when his followers can detect only a murmur; which accounts for both the purity and the disorder of their cause. "More by inspiration than calculation" – one of his advisers says – King delivered to a national television audience his plan for a total withdrawal from the economy of Alabama. It was to involve a consumer, industrial and labor union boycott of Alabama products, nonpayment of state taxes by Alabama residents, withdrawal of Federal Reserve funds from Alabama banks, and the strict application of rules against federal aid to local discriminatory agencies.

Unfortunately, King's inspiration was not transmitted to his many friends outside the South, and their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

immediate reaction was unsympathetic. Whatever the civil rights movement used to be, it is now largely a public relations campaign. Leaders contend for public sympathy as candidates seek votes, often on similarly irrelevant grounds. King was voted down. *The New York Times*, which acts as a kind of electoral college on such matters, decided the boycott was "wrong in principle and would be unworkable in practice," and the original idea was promptly scrapped.

Several days later, civil rights strategists met with King and his advisers at the Southern Christian Leadership Conference convention in Baltimore, and a compromise boycott was announced; presumably the calculated program is more legally defensible than the inspired one, and perhaps it will be effective in some small way. At least it is more difficult to tell how successful or unsuccessful it is, which preserves its propaganda value. "The unexecuted threat of a boycott can be more effective than a boycott," a civil rights organizer thinks.

King's Selma campaign was a tough act to follow, and the boycott was intended to be a suitable encore. One of the continuing problems of the civil rights movement is the maintenance of momentum. Public pressure, which in King's terms at least is the only way to crack the white South's resistance to desegregation, always dissipates after a major battle, and it takes months to bring it up to 96-point headline size again. Selma took eight weeks and two murders before it became a national affair. Danville, Va., and Albany, Ga., two of King's projects, failed to ignite national indignation on the grand scale, even after the usual round of demonstrations, beatings and jailings.

Economic Sanctions

A boycott could be a way of keeping public attention on the civil rights effort without actually waging conventional war. The theory is that it gives Northern sympathizers something to do (without actually committing them to direct action) and at the same time hits the South in its most vulnerable area. It is an appealing thought, and King had already made extensive plans to begin a boycott of Mississippi when the Selma campaign suggested that attention be shifted to Alabama. King had asked the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee to prepare research material on the Mississippi economy; it was thought that a list of companies with discriminatory hiring practices would be circulated and consumers asked to refrain from buying their manufactures. Negroes would not be immediately affected; the point was that they were not able to be employees of the blacklisted firms. Only those Mississippi companies large or expanding enough to have some impact on the state's economy would be attacked. Consumer boycotts probably do not come under antitrust law restrictions, although labor union boycotts might be illegal under labor law.

The Alabama boycott may be symptomatic of the general unease which has come over the civil rights scene in the past few months. There is a widespread feeling that the demonstrations and dramatic confrontations which have characterized the movement for a decade are ineffective in changing local conditions. The boycott was a gut response to the frustrations of fighting the day-to-day struggle in the South, which usually results in no tangible advantages to the local Negroes. In Black Belt Alabama, it is a dirty, uncompromising *mano-a-mano* with no decency and few rules. In Washington, civil rights is part of the political game, all decency and rules. But as gratifying as congressional legislation has been, the civil rights acts cannot remake Southern (or Northern) society into tolerable forms. It is too true: "you can't legislate love." Neither can you legislate community. There is an overwhelming need for reconciliation of Negroes and whites in the South, and the building of some viable, integrated communal life.

Economic sanctions may not alone bring about the breakthrough, but they reduce the will of the white populace to resist the civil rights effort, in a way that federal action has never done. There was no organized boycott of Little Rock after the 1957 school integration crisis, but the city, and the state of Arkansas, suffered economically because of its reputation. (Little Rock got no new industry for four years afterward.) There has been only the most perfunctory action against Mississippi (the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has circulated a list of 100 companies recommended for consumer boycott) but industrial starts are down, sales tax revenue is off, and salesmen from Mississippi have been known to erase the name of their home state from company cars they drive to other places. In the wake of Selma, city officials in Mississippi are quietly negotiating with civil rights leaders to avoid the economic dislocation they fear from local movements.

As it came out of the Baltimore conference, King's boycott is a reasonable attempt to make further economic inroads in the Southern will to maintain discrimination. The first stage, which may be the only one ever seriously promoted, calls for rigid enforcement of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964; it gives the government enormous economic power over states which use federal funds for segregated services. By determined application of the regulations in agriculture and education, to name only two areas, Alabama might be forced to change drastically its pattern of segregation. Also in the first stage of the boycott, manufacturers are asked not to build new facilities in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alabama, and to suspend expansion programs. Even without the appeal from King, industries may have decided that Alabama does not have quite the atmosphere conducive to their prosperity. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee has been trying for some time to stir up public antagonism to the Hammermill Paper Company, which is building a plant in Selma. Northerners who came to Selma for the marches were asked to spread the word about Hammermill paper when they returned home. It would not be surprising if the company's project is deferred.

In stage two of the boycott, the federal government would be asked to remove its deposits from Alabama banks, and private institutions would be called upon to reconsider their Alabama investments. Stage three would be a classic consumer boycott of "selected" goods. The whole program is really an extension of the more limited boycotts which have been used in the civil rights movement for many years: against buses, local businesses and services, and national industries with plants in racial trouble spots. Now, the boycott would be applied to a whole region, instead of one city; in Selma, for instance, a boycott has cut deeply into white businesses. Actually, "boycott" is not a respectable word in the civil rights vocabulary. The nonviolent dictionary calls it "economic withdrawal" or "selective buying." One of King's assistants tries to explain the distinction: "a boycott is vindictive and destructive. Economic withdrawal does not seek to destroy an economy, just to change the attitudes of the economic power structure." For most, it is a distinction without a difference.

Andrew Kopkind

Dirksen's Double Play

Everett Dirksen has been called the "lord of misrule," the "old artificer," and the "silver-tongued rattlesnake." He has been called likewise to lead a variety of charges, and at the moment he is entertaining us with another demonstration of his talent for working both sides of the street simultaneously. He is leading two major campaigns – one on behalf of disenfranchised Negroes in the Deep South (the Senator and Attorney General Katzenbach are working together closely for a voting rights bill); the other, on behalf of perpetuating the rotten borough system in at least one branch of the legislatures of these very Southern states.

The Illinois Senator seems to have got the message on legislative reapportionment last summer at San Francisco, where he helped nominate his friend Barry Goldwater for the Presidency. At the Cow Palace, opposition to the Supreme Court's "one man, one vote" ruling became official GOP gospel. Subsequently, Dirksen offered a "rider" to the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill, which would have delayed enforcement of the hated Court ruling until a constitutional amendment could be passed. He was repulsed, but only temporarily. Pressure from rural areas, the courthouse crowd, farm organizations and state house politicians with a touch or two of racist or corporate influence have since been building up.

As of this moment in the Senate, opponents are not sure they can block "some form" of a constitutional amendment on reapportionment. In the House, the Court's defenders are more confident, largely because of the weight that the big city delegations carry.

The fact that Dirksen would give the very same state legislatures which wrote discriminatory provisions into state laws, the power to control future state governments in the Deep South is only beginning to receive the notice it deserves. Even civil rights leaders have preferred to look the other way, and for sound political reasons. They need Dirksen's support for a strong voting rights bill this year. They are understandably reluctant to invite the Senator's displeasure, even if they recognize that he is taking away with his left hand what he gives with his right.

But although it may sometimes seem, given the untheatrical manner of Democratic leadership in the Senate, that Dirksen is boss of the upper chamber, he is not. He has his critics, even among Democrats. One of those critics is chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, the youthful Senator from Indiana, Birch Bayh. A few days ago, Senator Bayh dared to say that he thought the "one man, one vote concept is basically sound." And if there is going to be any constitutional amendment modifying the reapportionment ruling, Mr. Bayh has a few safeguards he (but not Dirksen) wants: judicial review, which Dirksen's amendment does not provide; periodic review by the voters in each state, say every 10 years, of whatever reapportionment arrangement has been set up; and a provision that state legislatures must present voters with a specific plan for reapportionment, and not just ask for *carte blanche* to reappor-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion one branch on some basis other than population. Senator Bayh has allies, and if a reapportionment bill gets to the Senate floor, it is sure to trigger "extended debate" by Paul Douglas, Clinton Anderson and Wayne Morse. Around them will rally younger Democrats: Tydings, Gale McGee, William Proxmire, and both of the Kennedys.

In the House, 146 votes can block any proposed amendment, and it now looks as if the blocking votes are there. But some caution is advisable, for to the conservatives this is Dunkirk. They are fighting not for what they have, but to preserve their power in the 92nd Congress, the first to be elected (in 1972) after the next census. The power of this group was demonstrated last year when the House by-passed its own Judiciary Committee and passed the Tuck bill, which would have stripped federal courts of appellate power in reapportionment cases. The mood of House conservatives hasn't changed since, as witness the petulant performance of the House some weeks ago when it squashed a proposal to raise the salaries of the Supreme Court Justices.

The Box Score

Suppose a Senate filibuster succeeds, or that opponents of an amendment manage to round up the 146 blocking votes in the House? Then watch for a Dirksen end run around Congress. He first put this play in motion last December, when he pleaded with delegates to the general assembly of the Council of State Governments – spawning ground for many of the forays against the Supreme Court – to go home and push through their legislatures a resolution demanding either his own amendment or a constitutional convention. Four months have gone by, and the box score reads as follows:

► Twenty states have passed the full resolution: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah and Virginia. Only 34 are needed to compel Congress to call a constitutional convention.

► Alaska, California and Nevada have approved just that portion of the resolution calling for an amendment. In 1964, three states passed a similar resolution, and proponents might have legal grounds for insisting that these three – Indiana, Wyoming and Washington – be counted.

► The resolution has failed in only five states in the last four months – Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, Ohio and Wyoming – but Indiana and Wyoming have not rescinded the approving resolutions they passed last year.

At this writing, it seems probable that the proponents of an amendment will pick up a half dozen or so states in the next year – *e.g.* Florida, Louisiana, Kentucky and Mississippi. This would put them within striking distance of victory, and a swing to the right in the 1966 elections could carry them all the way.

But time may be working against the foes of "one man, one vote." Court-enforced reapportionment has already cut deeply into conservative power and will weaken it further before most state legislatures can act on any proposed amendment. For instance, the pro-amendment forces failed in Wyoming's lower house, newly reapportioned; they won in New Mexico's lower house, also newly reapportioned, only after the speaker, who has his eye on the governorship, broke a tie in favor of the amendment. These results are significant, for they occur in Western states in which the Farm Bureau, the most frantic of all supporters of Dirksen's plan, has been dominant.

The latest compilation shows there are only seven states in which suits to reapportion state legislatures (to compel conformity to the Court's ruling) have not been filed, and in a number, deadlines set by the courts for reapportionment are imminent. Also, a concerted effort has been made by the National Committee for Fair Representation – an alliance of such groups as the AFL-CIO, the ACLU and ADA – to present the Supreme Court's ruling in a favorable light to labor union members, minority groups and even some liberal farm groups.

But the opponents of reapportionment won't surrender gracefully, nor will they be choosy about the company they keep. Thus, the March 8, 1965, issue of the Farm Bureau's national publication carried a picture of Alabama's Governor George Wallace with pen in hand as he signed a joint resolution calling for a constitutional convention, and there, smiling over his shoulder, was J. D. Hays, state president of the Farm Bureau. In New Orleans some months ago, an ex-president of the American Bar Association, John Satterfield of Mississippi, worked quietly behind the scenes to get an ABA endorsement of the Dirksen proposal. He is the same John Satterfield who has been Ross Barnett's personal attorney, and who helped to coordinate lobbying activities against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In fact, the first real uprising against the Court's reapportionment decision came two years earlier, in 1962, when delegates to a Southern regional meeting of the Council of State Governments voted to support a constitutional amendment to negate the Court ruling.

PAUL R. WIECK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Critic and Imperial Consciousness

by Quentin Anderson

Van Wyck Brooks won two distinct reputations: the first, which followed the publication of *America's Coming-of-Age* in 1915, was of a limited kind, but it will last; the second, won and lost in fifteen or twenty years after 1936, was the fruit of his five-volume series on our 19th and 20th Century literature

An Autobiography
by Van Wyck Brooks
(Dutton; $10)

called *Makers and Finders* (1936-1952), of which the most famous volume was *The Flowering of New England.* Brooks is understandably tender on the question of the fate of the series which absorbed him for 19 years, yet the measure of his absorption indicates the ground of our current distaste for it: it appears to be an appropriation of our collective past for private uses. But I must return to that. Recognition first came to Brooks as an important figure in what Richard Chase called the "resurgence" of our literature which began about 1912. To Randolph Bourne and Brooks we owe a brilliant start on the task of cultural definition and an enlivening attempt to outline the prospects for our literature. In *An Autobiography* Brooks is forever tugging us forward, toward a perception of what his five volumes were meant to accomplish, while the reader is tugging back toward the youthful Brooks, the issues he raised, the responses he got, or the way in which the times simply washed over him and his fellows. Since the three volumes of *An Autobiography* were published separately in 1954, 1957, and 1961, the present is an occasion for a retrospect on Brooks's career, rather than a detailed examination of his autobiography. But the covert struggle with the reader which *An Autobiography* exhibits when read as a whole makes it more interesting than were the detached volumes.

Part of the interest is in the failures and successes of its prose. Brooks as an older man was generally a soft-focus writer, who seldom quite brings anything into view, or enables you to see just how far his object stands from him. Also he has a very short prose arc in the late period. It may be said that after *America's Coming-of-Age Letters and Leadership* (1918), and *The Literary Life in America* (1927), his three deservedly famous manifestoes, he never wrote a whole book in his own person, but always masked himself in the identities of those about whom he wrote, or invented an alter ego, as in *Oliver Allston* (1941). This is also true of *An Autobiography* which in part reads like left-over notes from his literary chronicle. Yet he is capable for short stretches of an ordered amplitude and downrightness which puts us to shame. The first of the passages I quote is about his father; the second about an exception to the ladylike inactivity of his mother and grandmother, who annually made currant jelly.

"His shirts, starched like steel breastplates, were made for him with collars that gradually turned into saws about his neck, and his straw-yellow silk handkerchiefs, exhaling a perpetual eau-de-Cologne, spread from his pockets as voluminously as flags or sails.

"For two or three days the rear quarters of the house were turned upside down while this tumultuous ceremony was played out to the end, a whole-souled survival of the days of my grandmother's childhood in Plattsburg that suggested the emblematic ploughing of the emperor of China. The great red cheesecloth jelly-teats dripped all over the laundry-tubs, over buckets, pails, caldrons, bowls and soup tureens, while Christine the chambermaid, Ingrid the cook and my nurse Rosie, who ruled us all, were called into constant requisition."

Such passages are rare, though the chapter on Brooks's madness (1927-1931) is a striking exception.

Although some of Brooks's best work appeared in book form after this illness (*Sketches in Criticism,* 1932), the illness marks a division between his two careers. The second career was one of prodigious labor: Brooks's five volumes were far more exhaustive than their predecessors in literary history. In them he used a broad brush, making no discrimination between his writers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and himself, freely borrowing their phrases or sentences to suggest their moods and intentions – the steady gush of his prose sweeps away objects and persons on a tide of adjectives in which float biographical details, glimpses of landscape, quotations, scraps of contemporary observation, remarks on manners, bits of local history, and this flow is directed against our ignorance, is an attempt to overwhelm us with a conviction first of the being, then of the wealth, and finally of the parental authority of the past. It is the product of a mind gone at once flaccid and imperial. "Imperial" because what Brooks ostensibly gave he actually kept – by assimilating it to his fruity prose and his view of its salving use. No single author is the more sharply or more immediately perceived for Brooks's treatment; they welter in the tide.

For this enterprise Brooks, shut up to his attempt to represent his writers as more alive than my last Duchess, got no sympathy from the new criticism, shut up to its contemplation of works, and careless of their times and circumstances. Brooks's first two volumes had a great popular success, and he had begun to displace Parrington's *Main Currents of American Thought*, when, in 1941, Matthiessen published his *American Renaissance*, which, although feeble and evasive as cultural history, was first-rate in its explications of major 19th-Century writers. Brooks was outpaced; he began his twenty years war on a merely "technical" concern with our literature. Meanwhile the younger Brooks, who almost single-handed had launched a dialectic about our culture, continued to be honored only by those who, like Malcolm Cowley or Richard Chase, have been concerned with our cultural history as conditioning and conditioned by American writers.

I haven't space for proper discussion of Brooks's first phase, but I must sketch it to show how it relates to the second. After he got out of Harvard Brooks worked his way through a period in which he seems to have been preoccupied with the making of beautiful sentences, but by 1915, when *America's Coming-of-Age* appeared, he was master of a vigorous, jaunty and assertive prose which hums with the contentiousness proper to a book which calls for a national discussion. It introduced the famous contrast between Edwards and Franklin, highbrow and lowbrow, and called for the creation of a "genial middle ground," a developing focus of truly national consciousness – this implied the need for what he later said Henry James had been concerned to image, "personalities of transcendent value." Only persons of a new order could create and occupy the middle ground. Norwegian and Russian examples attracted Brooks here; in these provincial cultures centrality seemed to have been won by writers. (Of course the prime example of a beautifully articulated culture was England.) Related, though not quite consonant themes are pursued in *The Ordeal of Mark Twain* (1920), *The Pilgrimage of Henry James* (1925), and *The Life of Emerson* (1932). Brooks later described this as an intended triptych: Twain was shown as defeated through expatriation (his late works were described as "Magnificent pretensions, petty performances!") – while Emerson was said to be the actual ancestor of us all, the promise of a possible centrality. The *Emerson* is very weak, and the volumes on Twain and James are disturbingly ambivalent: Brooks is contending with writers with whom he is at the same time identifying himself.

But we are not content simply to honor the young Brooks, whose career is outlined in the mid-section of *An Autobiography;* we wish to know how he is related to the older Brooks whom the world treats so slightingly. I have already said that he had a strong impulse to write from within a consciousness he imputed to his subject – to impersonate figures in the past. That impulse overcame him. After it had done so he was no longer able to write a sustained piece of prose in his own person; he no longer conceived the American scene dialectically; his desire was rather to get inside it, to enact it, to appropriate it. He had become in fantasy a rival of Henry James, whose "great luminous menacing eyes" had haunted him during his illness.

What kind of exploration of the past is possible to a man prone to such inclusive identifications? Brooks's own explanation of his fantasy about James is that he was conscious of having mishandled an important figure – a part of that past which he wished to retrieve for us. But Brooks altogether misunderstood the significance of the lapsing away of the American past. He held that the 19th Century had been a span of social time for Emerson, Thoreau and Whitman, action followed by reaction, generation succeeding generation, individuals growing in the fruitful shadow of their predecessors. This is a very English idea. Three more notably ahistorical writers than Brooks's central trio cannot be found. Grandfathers is what they won't be, nor do they acknowledge sonship for themselves. Brooks was quite right in suggesting that the office of the *critic* (or the historian) is to recapture and preserve the sense of historical sequence; quite wrong in holding that to study these writers is to become aware of one. No, what one becomes aware of is the danger of identifying oneself with the whole world. Imaginatively, Americans appear to have taken their first step out of social time when they stepped ashore, but it is more to the point to say that the bleak existential wind began to blow from Emerson forty years before Nietzsche. In Emerson the imperial consciousness, unconstrained by its social matrix, found a voice, and we began to view ourselves in the perspectives of the human condition. Brooks's case is painfully ironic: when he wrote his series he surrendered the critical office and turned imperial himself. Every detail of his style and method confirm the fact that he caught the past up into his mothering consciousness, erasing all its discontinuities and awkward singularities. What could be more American than this!

The final historical irony lies in the fact that the criticism which followed Matthiessen was itself ahistorical. So poorly and weakly rooted in time and circumstance has that criticism been that our 19th-Century is no longer a time but a space, a void occupied by the followers of Cassirer, Frye, and analysts of symbolism – the "power of blackness" boys. On such a scene the voices of Wilson, Trilling, and Richard Chase, committed to a cultural

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and political dialectic (and in this sense the fellows of the youthful Brooks), are hardly understood.

Brooks's last twenty-odd years were a continual warfare with the critical establishment which had in his eyes sacrificed the national function of literature. He fought under disabling wraps. He had called for a middle ground, and now found himself a middlebrow of the middlebrows, praising all the predictable figures from Pearl Buck to John Hersey, warring on the influence of Proust, Joyce, Eliot, Kafka, and staggering under the piled weight of cultural changes. He contended in the only way he knew, publishing book after book, and writing many excellent paragraphs. Behind his sense of what a critic does – one is especially conscious of this in his last years – the figure of Sainte-Beuve always looms, but of course he is a Sainte-Beuve without a locus, a Monday even, slipping about on the deck of 20th-Century circumstance, and bravely proclaiming that he knows where the ropes are. Ours is a cruel time in which to grow old.

One more comparison seems inevitable, although it matches talent with genius. The young Henry James, who wrote criticism of such cutting clarity, whose consciousness finally became omnivorous and imperial, reminds us of the phases of Brooks. Is he not essentially a lapsed Henry James, whom William once described as "powerless-feeling Harry," a man whose traffic with the world was always haunted by a sense of the possibility of a gigantic failure, the coming of a continental night? Brooks tried to counter this with a frantic imperialism of the mind – to grasp everything of value in America, and offer it up against the dark. He failed. James undertook much the same task and succeeded – in that greatest of American cultural documents, *The Golden Bowl*. He succeeded because he saw what the price of Emerson's imperial consciousness really was and paid it: in the *Bowl*, Western man is represented as surrendering acquisitiveness, sexuality, a dialectic identity, the texture of a social life, in order to achieve a unified consciousness. Brooks could hardly have paid this price. He admired foreigners too much.

"An extraordinary book. I have derived very great gains in perspective from it, and find it so exciting that I am sharing it with several of my colleagues." —DR. GARDNER MURPHY, *Director of Research, Menninger Foundation*

"Tremendous . . . I predict that it will be a leading piece of literature in this field." —B. FRANK BROWN, *Principal, Melbourne High School, Melbourne, Florida*

THE NEXT GENERATION

The Prospects Ahead for the Youth of Today and Tomorrow By DONALD N. MICHAEL

Cloth $4.95; Vintage paperback $1.95 · Now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE
457 Madison Avenue, N. Y. 10020

PAUL GOODMAN'S most important book— in which the author of *Growing Up Absurd* asks: *How can we remain individuals, and human beings, in the face of growing centralization and bureaucracy on every level of American life?*

PEOPLE OR PERSONNEL

Decentralizing and the Mixed System

$4.95, now at your bookstore

RANDOM HOUSE
457 Madison Avenue, N. Y. 10020

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SLAVE BRACELETS

by William Jay Smith

I

You wore six bracelets – all of silver – and they moved on your wrist as you moved,
Catching the light, drawing it endlessly up and down in coils as you walked,
Bringing light in from the far corners of the room, bearing it in coils, cutting it in disks as you moved,
Peeling silver from mirrors, slicing the shadows; and when you held out your arm and drew it back,
The bracelets, tapping one upon the other, broke through the pebbled hours,
Slowly composing a pattern of continuing sound that I could follow clearly from room to room;
And the constant click of bracelets filled every crevice with silver.

II

A wash of silver! On that balcony overlooking the Caribbean I sat, and the water
Was a field of broken blue-green on which clouds massed and hovered in corners like paws,
And one triangular sail flitted and dipped, a checkered moth, over a crimson patch;
And the waves broke on a fringe of coral reef below, sweeping up over a circle of sand,
And the sound of breakers rose over my head, billowing out from the triangular tin roof protruding above the water,
Echoing dizzily through the green light; and below on the sand I followed the fine print of a crab darting in and out of his hole with every wave,
Tracing with each movement a slender radiating web, erased, then recomposed;
And again the combers climbed, and again your bracelets with their tapping radiantly caught
In the tail of my eye; the sea became a battery of bangles, a heap of polished abalone, uncoiling in profusion,
Splintering in silver at the day's dim edges, beached in delight upon the afternoon.

III

A fountain of energy had sprung up beneath my feet, and was playing through my veins; the island
Moved with the sea breeze; abandoned windmills on the coral hummocks turned in the imagination;
The ebony – that tree called "woman's tongue" – rattled its dry pods;
The banana clattered its gaudy green leaves like so many machetes; frangipane uplifted its clumps of coral branches;
Palm trees inclined; pawpaws trembled; wheelbarrows of fern, guided by dark hands, came past
And the island was all in motion, but at rest; the sky, drifting off, was caught at the edge of a canefield
By a grove of casuarinas, tall and feathery, planted in dark rows to catch the rain,
Drawing water from the air to return it to the underlying levels of the porous island,
Sweet water seeping down to rest, shimmering-clear, upon the salt, filtering out through the cane, emerging in black pools on the blond sand
So that all the island rested upon water – layer on layer – feeling upon feeling – buoyant and balanced.

IV

With the continuous tapping of your bracelets, I began to compose a whole category of sinuous objects,
To detail an inventory of coiling images, of chains whose links rose slowly through consciousness,
Rivers meandering in mystical meadows, columns of smoke encircling unscaled mountains;
I followed with Australian tribes the parabola of the emu's egg across the sky –
Saw how, landing far off in a pile of kindling, it set fire to the sun;
I dug deep beside the legendary Papuan and uncovered with him the small bright object,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Which, slipping from our hands, climbed into the sky to become the moon.

I set out with Dionysus to visit the islands, and abducted with him by pirates, was tied with heavy cords

Only to see the knots loosen miraculously and fall to the deck;

Watched the face of the terrified pilot when he sensed that their captive was divine,

And the obdurate pirates still refused his release; saw the water darken about the ship,

Flowing freely into fragrant wine, while up from the deck, its branches enveloping the sail, a vine rose, looping its firm trunk around the mast,

And at my side, beneath great pendant clusters, under crisp, veined leaves

The god assumed his fearful aspect, and the sailors in horror leapt into the sea,

Where, as dolphins, they followed along in the somber water; and only the pilot survived.

V

Coils of sound uncoiling, loop on silver loop, circle of light on light –

Layer on layer! A crinkling serpent slithered through the shadows, nearer and nearer, always eluding me, twisting up through the mind's incalculable levels;

And I saw you then, a statuette poised against blue-green water,

A Cretan goddess, whose corsage exposed her small white breasts, her lapis-lazuli, flounced blue skirts hooped over her waist,

Her arms extended rigidly down before her, serpents of gold and silver descending each arm into the resonant shadows,

Each neck held firmly between her fingers, the triangular heads thrust upward

– While the triangular tin roof behind you reflected the climbing breakers –

Each serpent clasped as if forever, its bright fangs reaching resolutely upward, uniting heaven and earth.

McKAY

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By GEORGE OTTO TREVELYAN

Abridged by

RICHARD B. MORRIS

Trevelyan's masterpiece of history is now available in one superb volume. *The New York Times,* in a front-page review, says, "Mr. Morris has succeeded in preserving the best of Trevelyan. The vast intellectual, social, political and religious context of the Revolution with which Trevelyan dealt remains intact." Allan Nevins says, "The general reader will find this work as fascinating and delightful as any piece of history in our tongue." $10.00

SECOND LARGE PRINTING

JOLLY

A novel by

JOHN WESTON

"JOLLY gave me real pleasure and provoked real admiration. It has a clear and simple veracity that in the end is strongly moving. And I can sense the art that has gone into the apparently artless effort."
– ROBERT PENN WARREN

"A frequently raucous, sometimes moving, and ultimately delicate account of a boy moving through . . . the brutal experimentation of male adolescence to the spare and lonely world of adult feeling."
– PAUL PICKREL $4.50

FAREWELL TO FOGGY BOTTOM

The Recollections of a Career Diplomat

by ELLIS BRIGGS

"Written with frankness, wit and urbanity that make the volume a gem of its kind. . . . When Briggs reminisces about his 37 years in the Foreign Service, he does so from an unusually rich background. . . . Fascinating reading."
– PHILIP WARREN THAYER, *Washington Post.* $4.95

FODOR'S 1965 GUIDE TO EUROPE

Smart travelers make it a point to take along the new Fodor. Don't go abroad this year without it. Color illustrations and maps. $5.95

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

DAVID McKAY COMPANY, INC., N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Education of Lytton Strachey

by John Wain

Suppose someone quoted to you, without giving the author's name, this passage from an article on "The Guides" (an Indian-manned regiment of the British Army):

> "Their fundamental significance . . . is the example they afford of the far-reaching and beneficent effects which may be produced by the powers of order, self-reliance, and self-control. The savage tribes of the frontier resembled some chemical substance which only required to come into contact with an appropriate force to reveal a multitude of unexpected attributes and powers. This force was the British officer, and particularly, as Colonel Younghusband is careful to point out, the British subaltern."

Asked to guess the author of that, it is a safe prediction that you might guess for twenty years without coming up with the name of Lytton Strachey. Even more surprising things are to come, within the same short essay. For instance, that the exploits of the Guides "are instances of the way in which the wildest barbarism may be converted into the noblest virtue and the highest heroism."

Noble virtue? High heroism? As evinced by soldiers prepared to die in the wars of a country not their own, for ideals imported by the representatives of that country and taught to them over the heads of their own elders and holy men? And this is Lytton Strachey, iconoclast-in-chief, author of the celebrated demolitions of General Gordon and Cardinal Manning?

Spectatorial Essays
by Lytton Strachey
Preface by James Strachey
(Harcourt, Brace & World; $4.75)

The difference between the youthful Strachey, as we meet him in this fascinating collection of exhumations, and the mature Strachey – if "mature" is the word – of *Eminent Victorians* and *Queen Victoria*, is a microcosmic indication of the change that overtook a whole civilization. Before 1914, the young Lytton Strachey must have seemed a typical Edwardian man of letters. He had taken easily to academic life at Cambridge, and when he failed to obtain a Fellowship it was natural that he should return to London and pick up a living in the world of respectable literary journalism. And highly respectable it was. In *The Spectator*, for which these pieces were written, anonymity was the strict rule; there was none of the star-system, the display of personalities and the airing of carefully tended eccentricities and egocentricities, that we find in literary journalism today. The tone aimed at was the reverse of today's flip, offhand cleverness. Gravity, responsibility, a dignity that never took off its frock-coat, were the first requirement of the weekly press that graced the breakfast-tables of that august, starched, utterly confident ascendancy. When, in response to prolonged pressure, the editor of *The Spectator* finally allowed a weekly column of dramatic criticism, and handed the job over to Lytton Strachey, it was decided that the theater pieces should be signed, to disassociate them from the collective editorial identity that reigned over everything else in the paper. Accordingly, they were signed "Ignotus." That just about hits it off. You could air opinions as long as you were unknown; the implication being that you were ready at any moment to crumble into dust and resume non-being.

Lytton Strachey evidently fitted quite comfortably into this world. In the pre-1914 period – and he was thirty-four when the War broke out – its values were, with not many reservations, his values. The figure we sense behind these essays is that of the typical English literary intellectual of the period: tasteful, well-read (up to a point), international in outlook at least to the extent of being Europeanized, responsive to the past (again, up to a point) and to the present, provided the present behaved itself and gave him no shocks. Every critic operates within his own fence of limitations, and in these essays Strachey, though blinkered by his age, is responsive to a wide range of authors, in verse as well as prose, and writes well about them. His style is derived from Macaulay's; it seems, looking back, that between 1840 and 1920 no English journalist, from the highest to the lowest, recognized any other stylistic authority than Macaulay; and he has a little of Macaulay's way of sweeping onward towards a conclusion, upborne by the tidal flow of his own rhetoric, so that the reader never gets a chance to interrupt with a "Yes, but . . ." or a "What about . . .?" He is, in short, the quintessential English literary journalist of his period.

Naturally, with his Bloomsbury affiliations, "good taste" was one of Strachey's main drawing cards. Like all the Bloomsberries, he continually made the implicit claim to have a faultless ear for the rhythms of prose or verse, an impeccable eye for the nice construction, a mind attuned to the finest nuance either of lyricism or of irony. And like all critics who make this claim, he was subject to collapses

"A brilliant,[1] pioneering,[2] persuasive[3] and stimulating[4] book"—
a new vision of the end of the arms race and the beginning of a demilitarized world.

[1] *Washington Star* [3] *Cleveland Plain Dealer*
[2] *New York Times* [4] *Houston Chronicle*

AN END TO ARMS
By WALTER MILLIS
A Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions Book.

$5.95, now at your bookstore

Atheneum

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

which leave the reader nonplussed. Discussing the poetry of Pope, for instance, he chooses to praise Pope as above all a delicately scrupulous craftsman. Though he chose to write in the conventional meter and manner of his time, Strachey declares, Pope was as free to exercise his exquisite sensibility as any artist, for:

> "Within the limits of the convention there is an infinite scope for subtle and dexterous handling, for those fine shades and delicate gradations of sound and expression of which the secret is only known to the true artist; and it is precisely here that Pope is supreme."

So far, so good. But unfortunately Strachey chooses to illustrate this by a rather hackneyed quotation – the celebrated couplet which Pope declared to be his own favorite: and Strachey, with his impeccable ear for the *mot juste*, misquotes a crucial word.

> "Lo! Where Moeotis sleeps, and hardly flows
> The frozen Tanaïs through a waste of snows,"

he makes Pope say. Whereas in Pope's own version the Tanaïs was "freezing." The slip could be dismissed as trivial. But if your critical aplomb, your claim to occupy the seat of judgment, is based on the accuracy of your aesthetic perceptions, it is unwise to misquote in passages of high lyrical intensity. The couplet is masterly; its music depends largely on the way each line opens out from a narrow sound to a rounded one: sleeps, hardly, flows – the sequence is echoed in the second line by "freezing, waste, snows." If Pope had written "frozen" this effect would have been lost; in addition, the couplet would have made less visual sense; the river flows with difficulty, "hardly," because it is so cold that it is in danger of turning into ice; it has not already turned.

And – a melancholy note in the margin – one notes with sadness that neither Lytton Strachey's surviving brother James, nor any of the editorial staff of the publishing house, nor the proofreaders, knew or cared enough to correct the slip, in a couplet that was once one of the most famous in English. The literary culture is ragged indeed! But never mind, more important issues are at stake. Even in Strachey's younger days there were important new developments, and he welcomed them as responsively as we have the right to expect of him. The novels of Dostoevsky, for instance, were at that time making their first impact on English readers, through the heroic labors of Constance Garnett. Dostoevsky, though he had published his first novel in 1846, had remained obscure to Western readers long after Turgenev and Chekhov were welcomed; the reasons are obvious enough, the difficulty of his work is greater and its Slavonic character so much thicker; still, it was the obvious duty of a critic to lay him firmly before the English public, and in 1912 Lytton Strachey assured the readers of *The Spectator* that Dostoevsky was a writer fit to be named with Shakespeare, and the Shakespeare of *King Lear* at that!

> "The art which wove out of the ravings of three madmen in a thunderstorm the noblest and profoundest symphony that human hearts have ever listened to is, in its essence, the same art that went to the making of *The Idiot* and *The Possessed*."

This is well said, and perceptive. But in the same essay Strachey makes another of his curious blunders. Trying to explain why the English have been slow to appreciate Dostoevsky, he comes up with the comfortable but superficial theory that the English novel is level-headed, sane, detached, avoiding the abysses and the imbalances that interest a writer like Dostoevsky.

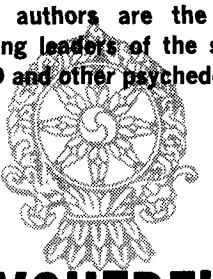
"The great tradition of English fiction," Strachey remarks, "has flowed steadily – from Defoe, through Fielding, Scott, Miss Austen, Thackeray, George Eliot, right down to the present day, to George Gissing and Mr. Arnold Bennett – in a totally contrary direction." And this direction? ". . . to treat of life from the standpoint of common sense. . . . The result has been a body of literature remarkable for its sobriety, its humanity, and its quiet wisdom."

If this is the "great tradition" of the English novel, it is a tradition that finds no room for Dickens, who anticipated not only Dostoevsky but also Baudelaire in his exploitation of the macabre poetry of the great 19th-Century city. Had Strachey never read, for instance, Dickens's description of the neglected houses in the keeping of the Court of Chancery?

> "It is a street of perishing blind houses, with their eyes stoned out; without a pane of glass, without so much as a window frame, with the bare shutters tumbling from their hinges and falling asunder; the iron rails peeling away in flakes of rust; the chimneys sinking in; the stone

OPEN Your Mind to Psychedelics!

These authors are the outstanding leaders of the study of LSD and other psychedelics



THE PSYCHEDELIC EXPERIENCE

**BY TIMOTHY LEARY
RALPH METZNER
RICHARD ALPERT**

The psychedelic is only one component of the psychedelic session. Equally important is the mental and spiritual preparation. The authors use for this purpose the Tibetan BOOK OF THE DEAD. The manual also provides instructions for an actual psychedelic session.

Price $5.00

UNIVERSITY BOOKS INC.
New Hyde Park, N. Y. 11041

Please send me_____copies of THE PSYCHEDELIC EXPERIENCE

Name_____

Address_____

City_____State_____Zip_____

☐ Cash ☐ Check ☐ M.O.

Money-back guarantee NR-101

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

steps to every door . . . turning stagnant green; the very crutches on which the ruins are propped, decaying."

The Dickensian world, in which objects take on human attributes, and human beings take on the attributes of objects, is remarkable, but not for "its sobriety, its humanity, and its quiet wisdom." Strachey, like all critics, is carving his own tradition out of the conflicting richness of the past. But the tradition he discerns will not satisfy us; it does not reflect the true richness of the English literature and life; if Strachey has no room for Dickens, neither (we suspect) does he have any room for Bunyan, or De Quincy, or the James Hogg of *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*.

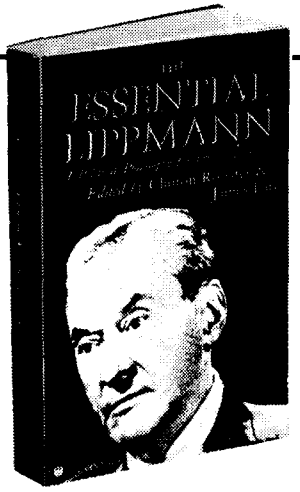
Not only Strachey, but the civilization he accepted so uncritically, is exposed as inadequate in these essays. Attractive, urbane, dignified, serious, it must nevertheless be accounted pretty much of a failure. It did not take account of the things it had no wish to contemplate. The well-to-do Englishman, with his enormous material ascendancy, took it for granted that he had an intellectual and spiritual ascendancy also. He erred. His view was narrow, his spirit sluggish. He failed to see the horror that was approaching, failed to read the signs of the coming tempest.

And is this, in turn, the reason why Strachey himself turned so savagely, after the war, on the Victorian culture on which he had been a contented parasite? Were the unfairness, the bitterness, the angry sarcasm, a means of detonating the world he had believed in, and which destroyed itself in such a frenzy of blood and cruelty? If Strachey felt this, he was not the only one; there could hardly be anyone more different from Strachey than Ezra Pound, and Pound believed so passionately in Europe that he turned his back on the certainties of Idaho and embraced the visions of Provence, Spain, France, England; only to be confronted, inside ten years, with that same brutal self-destruction. Pound's reaction we know.

> There died a myriad,
> And the best, among them:
> For an old bitch gone in the teeth,
> For a botched civilization.

Perhaps that is what Strachey was saying, in his later, iconoclastic period. He had believed in the old bitch, he had not noticed that she was gone in the teeth, and when he finally discovered it he screamed with rage, and the scream is there in his delicately edged baiting of Victoria and her Albert, his grotesque lies about Gordon and Manning, his bitter gibes at Florence Nightingale and Arthur Hugh Clough. So these early essays, written for *The Spectator* in that brief but golden period between the death of Victoria and the shooting at Sarajevo, take on – they also! – a tragic dimension.

NEW VINTAGE PAPERBACK



THE ESSENTIAL LIPPMANN
Edited by CLINTON ROSSITER & JAMES LARE
$2.45, now at your bookstore
VINTAGE BOOKS are published by ALFRED • A • KNOPF and RANDOM HOUSE

Norman X: The Literary Man's Cassius Clay

by Joseph Epstein

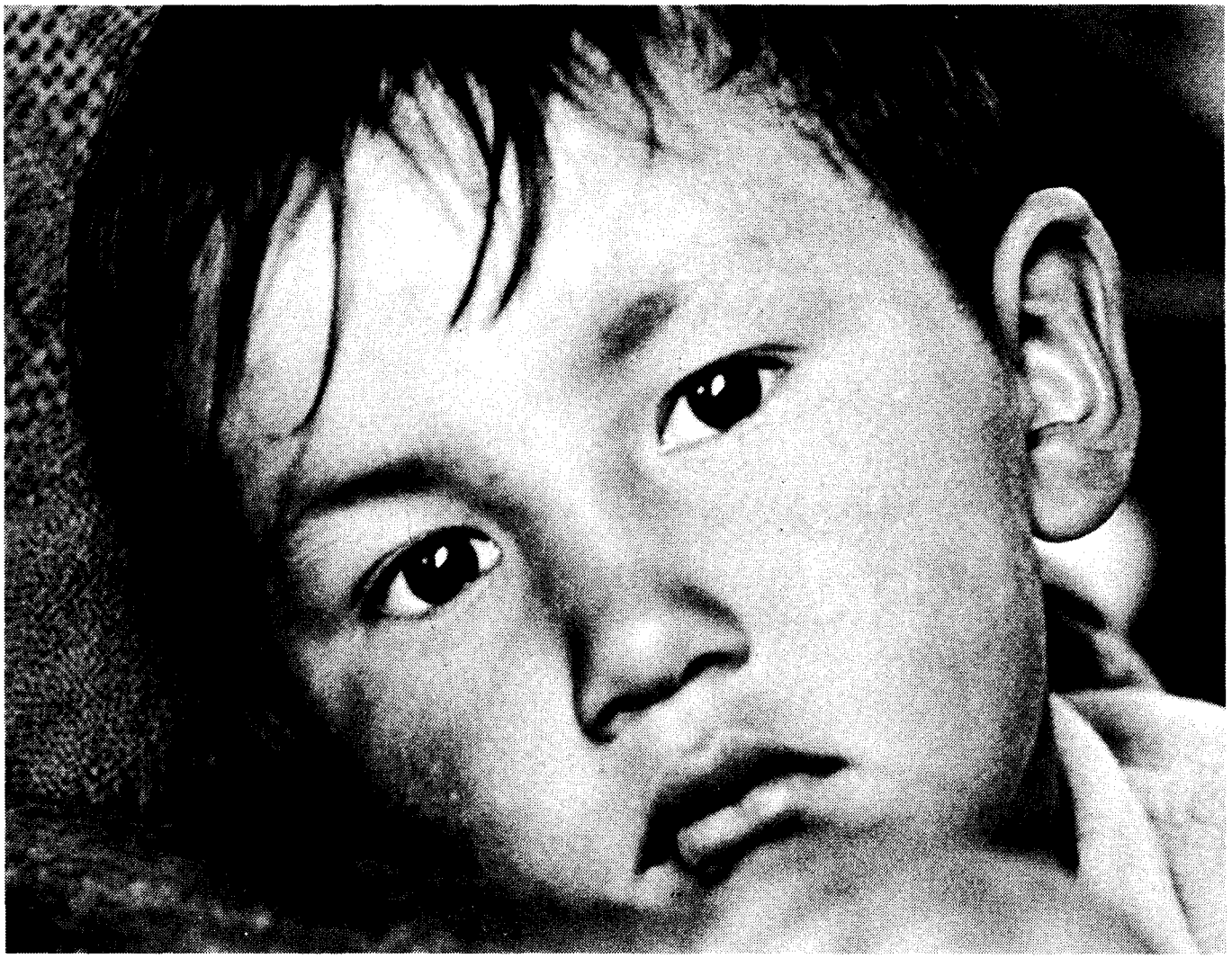
A man of many and diverse talents, Norman Mailer has one that exceeds the rest: that of putting his foot in his mouth and then inserting his head into the mouth of a lion. He never quite manages to get out unscarred. Bitten, battered, one ear hanging loose, his scalp ripped and bleeding – Mailer nonetheless appears to enjoy the action. For years now he has been touted

An American Dream
by Norman Mailer
(Dial; $4.95)

– most prominently through his own self-advertisements – as potentially our only major novelistic talent. And for years now he has not delivered, though every so often he does deliver himself of a long critical article disputing any rights to the championship to the other contenders. The language of boxing is not out of order. As even Mailer must by now recognize, he is the literary man's Cassius Clay, aging and beginning to grow slightly paunchy. Even as champion, a Cassius Clay is barely tolerable; but one who, like Mailer, has never come close to winning the title and yet keeps blabbing away, is something less than endearing.

Yet if one thing in Norman Mailer's literary career is evident it is that he does not particularly wish to prove endearing. He has a distinct taste for disaster, will take only the big bite (which inevitably turns out to be more than he can chew), and seems almost to invite failure. Until the publication of this his most recent book, he has written three novels in three wholly different styles, all motivated by different ideas, all in pursuit of different effects. (The first, *The Naked and The Dead*, incidentally, was in the best-seller style, which, with his curious integrity, he abandoned along with the others.) Of late he has been on an intellectual odyssey of a pronouncedly hazardous kind – described in these pages by Richard Gilman in his perceptive essay, "Why Mailer Wants to be President" (February 8, 1964). His courage and ambition, his willingness to go to the depths of modern experience, are often such as to offset his unerring bad taste. Whether it will all

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



NEEDED: SOMEONE WHO CARES

It would be very easy to give a moment of your interest... or some change from your pocket ... to this child. It would be very easy — for us, too — to settle for this kind of help.

But it just isn't enough. For a child who has to eat, not just once, but every day. Who needs shoes this month, and six months from now, and next year, too. Who needs books, schooling, shelter. Who needs... most of all... someone who really cares.

Will you be that someone? Will you care enough NOW to send off your first month's check for $12.50? And help a child by helping his family help itself to a better life?

The child you help will thank you by personal letter (and snapshot). Will write to you regularly. Will let you know how wonderful it feels to have someone who cares.

NR-4-17-S

SAVE THE CHILDREN FEDERATION
Norwalk, Connecticut 06852

I would like to sponsor a child in:

- ☐ Greece
- ☐ Korea
- ☐ Lebanon
- ☐ Wherever the need is greatest
- ☐ Africa
- ☐ Latin America
- ☐ American Indian
- ☐ Italy

Enclosed is my first payment of:

- ☐ $12.50 monthly
- ☐ $37.50 quarterly
- ☐ $ 75.00 semi-annually
- ☐ $150.00 annually

I can't sponsor a child, but I'm enclosing a contribution of $_____.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip #_____

Contributions are U. S. income tax deductible.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

end with Mailer achieving some new and firm purchase on the truth or merely finding himself the subject of a *Time* cover story, no one can be altogether sure. What Stephen Richards Rojack, the hero of Mailer's new novel, says of himself can also be said of his creator: "no one could be certain finally that nothing large would ever come from me."

With *An American Dream*, however, the degree of uncertainty diminishes considerably. The novel originally appeared in eight consecutive issues of *Esquire*, and was written under the pressure of monthly magazine deadlines, the way, as Mailer has pointed out with his customary modesty, Dickens and Tolstoy and Dostoevsky used to write their novels. More than likely, though, the book was written in this manner less to emulate the giants – which, literarily, it decidedly does not – than to serve as a self-imposed goad to spur Mailer on to completing a work of fiction, for it has been fully ten years since the appearance of his last, *The Deer Park*. In a reversal on Cassius, before the first segment of *An American Dream* appeared in *Esquire*, Mailer announced it would be no knockout; expect nothing "major," he said. At this stage of the game, one wonders how many people are left who expected anything.

For any way and on any level one chooses to read it, *An American Dream* is confused and silly. (Given the author's temperament, I am excluding the possibility that it is a satire or deliberate self-parody, although there is evidence in the text to support this view.) While there are patches and stretches of the old brilliance – observations so sharp and right they change one's entire mode of looking at a person or object forever, passages that twang with tension and bristle with power – these are fewer and farther between than in any of Mailer's previous novels. There are also fewer ideas, and fewer still which are convincingly stitched into the narrative, and fewer than that which are of any value: not the finest of situations for a novelist of ideas, a writer who, it will be recalled, is pledged to effect "a revolution in the consciousness of our time."

An American Dream perhaps best yields up its banalities through a summary of its plot. To say that its principal character, Stephen Rojack, is no anti-hero is not even to begin to describe him. Along with being the "one intellectual in America's history with a Distinguished Service Cross," he is a former US Congressman, a television celebrity, a professor of existentialist psychology, author of *The Psychology of The Hangman*, a better than middling boxer, and a sack-artist *extraordinaire*. Whether or not he sang for the high school band, Mailer neglects to say.

Rojack is also a murderer. Early in the novel he knocks off his wife Deborah, a bewitching and vicious heiress, by nicely snapping her hyoid bone through strangulation and then – alleyoop! – pitching her body off the balcony of her tenth floor apartment to make the death appear a suicide. At first face we are led to believe that Rojack's murder is to be at the center of the novel. This is very promising. Murder, after all, is a big theme, and some big men – among them, Dostoevsky, Stendhal, Conrad – have done some big things with it. All we get from Mailer on the subject, however, is the intelligence that murder can be an exquisite sex stimulant. For after taking his wife's life, Rojack feels the lust rise in him and walks downstairs and takes a tumble with the German maid.

Quite a tumble it turns out to be. In an interesting switch, as murder turns Rojack's mind to sex, sex turns his mind to theology. An acrobat of prodigious agility, Rojack is also a regular boudoir Martin Buber, contemplating the cosmos between somersaults. But before he can put it all in order, with God and the Devil and his own ego all in their proper places, he reaches an orgasm of what can only be described as of megaton dimensions, and shortly after reminds himself that the police will soon be in pursuit. There is time enough only to dump his wife's body over the balcony, confer his talents once more on the maid, this time standing up in the vestibule, and then whisk off into the night.

Rojack eventually encounters the police who are, needless to say, highly suspicious. That snapped hyoid bone

"One of our ablest legislators offers a frank and fascinating account of the House of Representatives, its problems, its prospects, and what can be done about it."

—ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

House Out of Order

By Richard Bolling

A liberal Democrat from Missouri with sixteen years in the House tells the engrossing "inside" story of House operations—its history, how it really operates, what's wrong with the House today—and presents fascinating portraits of important House members.

"An able exponent of the liberal viewpoint, Bolling has turned in a highly readable and candid book with a fresh approach to an issue of growing national concern."

—WILLIAM A. KORNS, *The New Republic*

$4.95 E. P. DUTTON & CO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

showed up in an autopsy as did something called dependent lividity, a subtler form of rigor mortis. The detective assigned to bring Rojack to a confession is a man named Roberts, a laconic gent who possesses one of those unadorned intellects that, never overlooking a thing, goes right to the heart of any matter. Since Rojack has no mean intellect himself, we are given every reason to expect a battle of two superior intelligences comparable to Raskolinkov's and Inspector Porfiry Petrovitch's. While Roberts and Rojack do in fact go a good round or two, alas, it is not to be. Instead, through a shamelessly shabby *deus ex machina* a call comes into headquarters requesting that Rojack be set free. Later we learn that the call had been instigated by his father-in-law, a non-representative American millionaire with connections reaching into such disparate organizations as the Muslims, the Mafia, and of course the CIA. With this phone call, we discover beyond doubt that Mailer is after all not particularly interested in the phenomenon of murder, or even in the mind of a murderer, but only in providing one more flashy background in which one more sprawling, brawling hipster ego can operate with maximum panache.

The remainder of *An American Dream* is a romp – among other exotics, a Southern chanteuse, various mafiosi, and a non-white Negro flit in and out – and of little value except insofar as it exhibits Mailer indulging in some of his more self-defeating excesses. For example, he and his fictional heroes have always been great advocates of the instinctual life: "Trust the authority of your senses," Rojack tells himself at one point in the novel. There is much to be said for this view. But Mailer, as usual, says too much, and heavily stacks the deck in giving Rojack an appreciation of (and power over) the sensual life that makes the late King Farouk look like Matthew Arnold. Along with states of the body, for instance, he can also smell out states of mind, and does so throughout the book.

The trouble with excesses of this kind is not only that they are patently absurd. They also point up the supreme irony of Mailer's novelistic career. Which is that in the search for new possibilties of conduct and action he has driven himself so far out as to cut himself off completely from the old possibilities. In Mailer's writing the rational response is almost never the appropriate one. He is more interested in the novel as spectacle than as a convincing presentation of life; more concerned with projecting personal fantasies than creating verisimilitude. The cost is the believability of his fictions.

All told the action in *An American Dream* takes up 32 hours, and I'm afraid we have to wait till near the very end for the "word": the cure to the cancer he sees infecting modern life and ultimately working to destroy us all. Over the years Mailer has come up with more cures for the malaise of our time than the *Reader's Digest*, and this one is as wild as any. On the way to visit the father of his dead wife, Rojack thinks: "Comfortless was my religion, anxiety of anxiety, for I believed God was not love but courage. Love came only as a reward." If God is courage, then it follows that the best way to achieve grace, that peculiar blend of apocalyptical nirvana which is the goal of all Mailer's strivings, is to expose yourself to as much danger as possible.

And this Rojack doesn't fail to do. After a long, fascinating but rather pointless interview with his father-in-law, he determines to walk the 12-inch-wide parapet round the balcony of his Waldorf Towers suite 32 stories above Manhattan. In part Rojack does this in expiation for murdering his wife – but only in part. It is also, for him, a challenge to action and quite explicitly a moment of religious awe: ". . . I kept going down the third leg; and the wall came nearer to me; my limbs came alive again; each step I took something good was coming in, I could do this, I knew I could do it now. There was the hint of when I would finally be done – some bliss from infancy moved through the lock of my lungs."

COMING

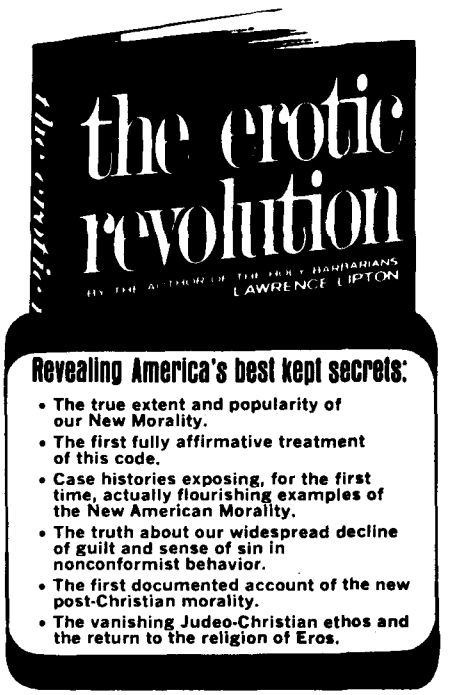
Edith Sitwell's Autobiography

reviewed by

Stephen Spender

A major new book by the author of the bestseller THE HOLY BARBARIANS

LAWRENCE LIPTON



Revealing America's best kept secrets:

- The true extent and popularity of our New Morality.
- The first fully affirmative treatment of this code.
- Case histories exposing, for the first time, actually flourishing examples of the New American Morality.
- The truth about our widespread decline of guilt and sense of sin in nonconformist behavior.
- The first documented account of the new post-Christian morality.
- The vanishing Judeo-Christian ethos and the return to the religion of Eros.

In a big book crammed with documented case histories, the noted novelist, poet and essayist probes deeply into the sexual behavior and attitudes of teenagers and adults alike in today's social mores.

He reveals his first-hand findings, presents his startling conclusions, and develops a totally fresh concept of The New Morality . . . as it is being practiced on the campus, in the business office and in private life.

With astounding candor, he openly advocates the repeal of most laws governing such controversial issues as mixed-marriages, divorce, illegitimacy, contraceptives, abortion, homosexuality and other acts done in private.

Author Lipton believes the Old Morality dies hard, but if change is at hand today, he has recorded it here in THE EROTIC REVOLUTION. Get your copy today. $7.50

To your bookseller, or:

SHERBOURNE PRESS NR
1640 S. La Cienega Boulevard
Los Angeles, Cal. 90035

Please send me postpaid, a copy of THE EROTIC REVOLUTION @ $7.50. If not completely satisfied, I may return for full refund within 10 days.

I enclose ☐ check ☐ money order

Name_____
PLEASE PRINT
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip Code_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"We Want Bread and Roses Too"

by Joseph L. Featherstone

Anarchism, whose limitless dreams and passionate praise of violence made the mighty of Europe tremble, is now a thoroughly lost cause. Revolutions have only strengthened the hand of its arch enemy, the modern state, and it has been relegated to the dustbin of history by such expert sweepers as E. H. Carr and Trotsky. Small wonder, then, that Mr. Joll, who is an historian

The Anarchists
by James Joll
(Atlantic-Little, Brown; $6)
Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology
edited by Joyce L. Kornbluh
(Michigan; $12.50)

at Oxford, feels obliged to begin this ironic and compassionate study on a defensive note. Yet surely no apologies are needed for such a splendid book: the aim of the historian, like that of the artist, is to enlarge our vision of the world, and for this purpose studying the failures of history can be as instructive and rewarding as the successes. And the anarchists, in particular, were no ordinary set of losers: they sought to judge industrial society and the modern state by old and enduring values, and their movement thus offers a glimpse into the inner depths of the 19th Century. The anarchist testimony is all the more convincing because it speaks with what F. Scott Fitzgerald, in a very different context, called the authority of failure.

Anarchism is the attempt to establish justice among men by eliminating the state. The anarchist movement was a protest against the impact of machines and industry on a peasant and artisan society – printers, tailors, and clockmakers were often its leaders. Anarchism is always more a cry from the heart than a settled doctrine, and its writings never quite get across the religious essence of the matter, which is worship and prophecy. Mr. Joll links later anarchists with the Gnostic heresies of the Middle Ages, who held that the world was utterly corrupt; with radical, utopian, and millenarian movements like the Anabaptists; and with the Puritans. (One question he does not answer is why the subjective ecstasies of anarchism later flourished in Catholic, rather than Protestant, countries.)

In addition to religious fervor, 19th Century anarchism had an immense faith in human nature, and Metternich was quite right to call Proudhon "an illegitimate son of the Enlightenment." After 1789, the movement lived by the myth of revolution: like the Marxists, the anarchists believed that revolutionary action would lead to the birth of a new society based on voluntary cooperation. But the anarchists were fatally inhibited all along by their conviction that the revolution must not simply erect a new system of coercion on the wreckage of the old.

The movement achieved mass importance in France, Italy, and, latterly, Spain. These were countries where centralization, red tape, and bogus constitutionalism led many men to conclude that government was a procedural charade; and often they were right. These were also countries where harsh exploitation goaded men to despair; and in despair they fashioned fantasies of a better order.

Mr. Joll does a superb job on the development of anarchist doctrine, which includes many of the basic ideas of the century. He can give you the gist of a thinker like Sorel in five or six pages of elegant and simple prose. He covers the background of anarchist thought: the utopian socialists, Fourier and St. Simon, Hegel, and the ideas of classical liberalism. In a sense, doctrinal anarchism is simply the liberal ideas of individualism, natural order, and a harmony of interests carried to an extreme: and it is no coincidence that Herbert Spencer, the evangelist of Darwinian capitalism, adopted the anarchistic policy of never sending letters through the post-office, whose statist activities he disapproved of.

Thus Proudhon, the greatest anarchist thinker, could say that his masters were "the Bible first, Adam Smith second, and lastly Hegel." Proudhon emphasized individual moral reform – he had few illusions about the stunted capacities of the downtrodden – as well as the necessity to change the material conditions of life. He was notoriously unsystematic – he drove Marx to a dancing fury. And at times, as when he railed against the Jews or England, he sounded like some kind of nut. Like all anarchists, his strong point was explaining the contradictions of capitalism; and he was characteristically vague on the organization of the New Jerusalem. There is no question, as Mr. Joll says, that his ideas permanently stamped socialism and working class movements in France, Spain, and Italy. Phrases like "property is theft" were remembered, together with his plans to establish small, mutually supporting groups to replace giant industrial combines. Under his influence, the French

Sunshine on Sandstone

Golden photon white on granulated red
  makes brown,
wall-board in this instance,
  house-high:
splendiferous surface, the stucco
  worn bare
here and there, stones nicked, cracked,
  flecked, marked,
scored warmly, worn considerably, having
  wept rust,
borne whitewash, mortar, known weather,
  these spots
seem meditating irregularities:
  Lord's thoughts.

JOHN UPDIKE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jane Austen

A STUDY OF HER ARTISTIC DEVELOPMENT

By A. WALTON LITZ. Professor Litz reverses the trend of recent Austen criticism by reassessing the traditional as well as the radical qualities of her fiction. He shows how her writing is the culmination of the eighteenth-century novel and the beginning of the modern form. "Sensible, lucid, unobtrusively erudite. . . . An excellent essay in criticism, extremely useful as an introduction to Jane Austen, and invaluable to the scholar as a fresh and original contribution to the subject."— ANDREW WRIGHT $5.75

From Sensibility to Romanticism

Edited by FREDERICK W. HILLES *and* HAROLD BLOOM. This collection of critical essays traces the transition in English poetry from Pope and Johnson through the age of sensibility to Blake, Wordsworth, and other major romantics. It presents a balanced inquiry into the problem of a "shift in sensibility" between two broadly defined literary periods. The essays, written in honor of Frederick A. Pottle of Yale, are by twenty-six prominent American, Canadian, and British critics. $9.75

Defender of the Faith

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN: THE LAST DECADE 1915-1925

By LAWRENCE W. LEVINE. This major interpretation of the last years of Bryan's life sets him against the political background of the 1920's. He emerges as a far more complex and attractive figure than the one with whom we are familiar. "I read . . . with growing excitement and admiration – excitement from the wealth of new material about Bryan in his later phase, and admiration at the author's understanding, sympathy, and objectivity. This book will compel a major re-evaluation of the later, tragic phase of Bryan's career."—ARTHUR S. LINK. "The most judicious study ever written on William Jennings Bryan."
— WILLIAM E. LEUCHTENBURG $7.50

The Springtime of Freedom

THE EVOLUTION OF DEVELOPING SOCIETIES

By WILLIAM MCCORD. How valid is the prevailing notion that dictatorships are inevitable in developing nations? Drawing from first-hand experiences and research in contemporary and historical societies, the author shows that the democratic, pluralistic approach to government and social organization is more beneficial in the long run than totalitarianism. He proves his point with illustrations from nineteenth-century Europe; post-1917 Russia; and modern Japan, Ghana, Nigeria, Egypt, India, and Indonesia. $6.00

New, from OXFORD

Equality and Liberty

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN AMERICAN POLITICS

By HARRY V. JAFFA. *Introduction by* CHARLES H. PERCY. Concerned with political realities, Professor Jaffa examines the whole length of American history and how the Declaration of Independence has been interpreted by succeeding generations of Americans. He also raises a number of fundamental questions about the drift of American politics today. "Professor Jaffa's wide-ranging essays on the American political system throw new light wherever they touch."
— FRANK S. MEYER $5.75

Mao and the Chinese Revolution

By JEROME CH'EN. A dispassionate analysis of Mao's life and times, this study examines the Maoist pattern of revolution based on Mao's own writings and application. The first and second United Fronts, the Stalin-Trotsky controversy over China, the schism between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, and the saga of the Long March are carefully detailed. The book also contains 37 of Mao's poems, translated by Dr. Ch'en and Michael Bullock, which complement the account of Mao as a man of action. $7.50

THE COMPLETE POEMS OF *Frederick Goddard Tuckerman*

Edited and with an introduction by N. SCOTT MOMADAY. *Critical foreword by* YVOR WINTERS. "This complete edition of Frederick Tuckerman's poems is a literary event of importance. He was one of the few fine original poets of the later nineteenth century in the United States. He published only one volume of verse. . . . The present edition includes the full text of the original volume, not reprinted since 1869 . . . a great deal of new material which has never been published at all, and an excellent job of editing by Mr. N. S. Momaday. It is thus for the first time now possible to acquaint oneself with the whole of Tuckerman's work."
— EDMUND WILSON $6.50

A History of the Ancient World

By CHESTER G. STARR. This comprehensive, highly readable survey of history up to the fifth century A.D. links the mainstream of western development starting with the Near East and continuing through Greece and Rome. Drawing on ancient sources, the author integrates and interprets the factual material to present a living story of ancient civilizations. The product of three decades of research, the text is enhanced by 32 pages of halftones. 20 maps. Bibliography. Index. $12.50

AT ALL BOOKSTORES

Oxford University Press

NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

developed revolutionary syndicalism, the idea that trade unions (*syndicats*) would form the nucleus of the new society. Proudhon was popular in part because he preached simplicity and peasant virtue in moral tones that spoke to men's condition. Above all, he had the true anarchist's sense of outrage: "To be governed is to be watched over, inspected, spied on, directed, legislated at, regulated, docketed, indoctrinated, preached at, controlled, assessed, weighed, censored, ordered about, by men who have neither the right nor the knowledge, nor the virtue."

The chapter on Bakunin is less satisfactory, perhaps because Mr. Joll's method of understatement fails to do justice to the excesses of this wild and strange man. Bakunin's belief in violence and the revolutionary potential of those who have nothing to lose was at the opposite pole of anarchism from Proudhon's ideal movement of self-educated, self-improving peasants and craftsmen. Still, for all Bakunin's ranting, he realized that the methods used to make revolution were going to affect the nature of society after revolution. Like Proudhon, Bakunin believed that the revolutionary movement should somehow duplicate the ideal future social order.

With Bakunin, the movement entered the shadowy world best described by Joseph Conrad in *The Secret Agent* and *Under Western Eyes:* a world often limited to two cities, London and Geneva. It was a world of senseless desperation provoked by senseless tyranny, of double agents, police spies, provocations by the police, deadly rivalries between revolutionary groups, and – especially in Bakunin's case – imaginary conspiracies. The ferocious moral anarchism of the reactionary governments prompted answers in kind from the revolutionaries. Assassination and terror, "propaganda by the deed," became articles of faith in some anarchist circles. After 1870, Mr. Joll notes, there was always a section of the movement ready to commit acts of terrorism: for their own sake, or to symbolize revolt against society. It is difficult now to recapture the moral conditions that produced the bombings and murders listed here, though the wave of OAS bombings in Paris in 1960 gave us the equivalent atmosphere. Pathology does not explain all the anarchist acts of terrorism: the problem is to understand the cynicism that oppression inspires in both oppressors and oppressed, the sort of cynicism that can make a simple virtue like tolerance seem indecent.

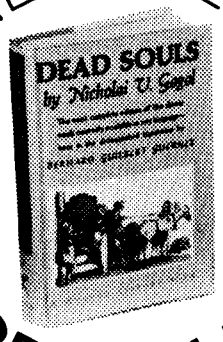
Besides the great intellectual figures of the movement, Mr. Joll also tells us about its great issues. He is good on the split in the First International, which brought to a head the conflict between the scientific socialism of Marx and the Germans, and the anarcho-syndicalist policies of Bakunin and the French. Doctrine mattered in the quarrel; so did personal differences between Marx and Bakunin; and so, too, I think, did questions of temperament. The Latin anarchists, the heirs of Proudhon, had a sense of limits and a warmth that marked them off from the Germans and Russians. (It was Goethe, after all, who said the German destiny was to make everything difficult.) The anarchists still retained some of the spirit of the Saturnalia, the fiesta commemorating a Golden Age, and an old, lost fraternity that all men had once shared. This spirit made anarchism – apart from the terrorist wing – gayer and more human than most radical movements permit themselves to be: it was present in the 1912 strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, when Italian mill girls carried a banner for the anarcho-syndicalist IWW that read: "WE WANT BREAD AND ROSES TOO."

In this century, most of the great anarchist issues have centered on the question of participation in politics. This divided the French in 1895, the American IWW (Industrial Workers of the World) in 1908, and the Spanish in 1931. The state and politics were too real in countries like France, and reluctantly the anarchists turned into trade unionists. Anarchism remained as a tradition; and a reluctance to engage in politics continued to characterize unions within the tradition. But after 1914 – except for Spain – syndicalists were no longer anarchists.

Anarchism in America at one time was believed to be a fearful force: between the Haymarket bombing in 1886 and the assassination of McKinley in 1901, the shadow of anarchism haunted many communities. Actually the great American manifestation of anarcho-syndicalism, the IWW, was mostly a blind reaction to misery by ignorant laborers, miners, and migrants. Most of them were immigrants to whom American politics was alien; and many came from countries with anarchist traditions. The IWW was centralized administratively, and thus came in for criticism from visiting foreign anarchists. It had a hand in the Paterson and Lawrence strikes, and did much to spread the idea of organizing the unorganized into industrial, rather than craft unions. (It was one of the first, if not the first, unions to admit Negroes.) Its leadership was just about wiped out in the Red Scare after 1917 – the "Wobblies" opposed the war – and its famous and colorful leader, "Big Bill" Haywood (whose name, in a rare lapse, Mr. Joll renders as Hayward) ended up a pitiful figure sitting in the lobby of the Lux Hotel in Moscow. *Rebel Voices* is a kind of Wobbly memorial scrapbook, with clippings and songs and pictures: it will serve to perpetuate the myths about the IWW, but that may not be a bad thing, because it was a brave and happy movement of men with nothing to lose; and it deserves remembering. Ralph Chaplin's song, "Solidarity Forever" is included, but, curiously "I dreamt I saw Joe Hill" is omitted here.

Spain provided the solidest example

A NEW TITLE IN THE MODERN LIBRARY



DEAD SOULS
By NICHOLAI V. GOGOL
Translated by B. G. GUERNEY
$2.45, now at your bookstore
RANDOM HOUSE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF YOU ARE CONCERNED OR INVOLVED WITH Urban Planning • City Management • Housing: Design and Development • Crime and Delinquency • Intergroup Relations • Family Problems • Recreation and Leisure • Education and Welfare • Urban Mental Health • Poverty...

The Library of Urban Affairs

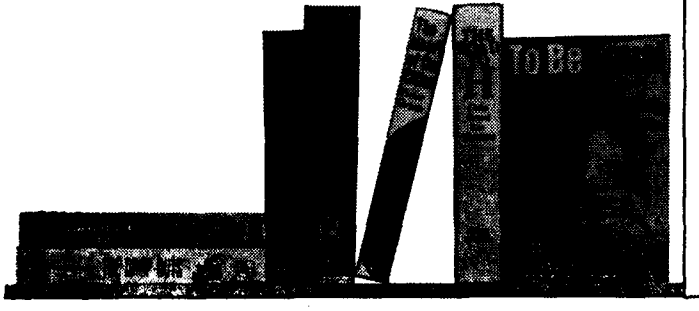
invites you to CHARTER MEMBERSHIP in a unique, timely new Program

Why THE LIBRARY OF URBAN AFFAIRS? President Kennedy called our cities "the great unspoken, overlooked, underplayed problems of our times." But today people from many fields and disciplines are urgently seeking solutions to these problems and planning for the future. What has been needed is *a single source of authoritative, up-to-date information* on the death of neighborhoods, troubled schools, traffic chaos, the "other America", and the many crises now sweeping the nation's urban centers.

THE LIBRARY OF URBAN AFFAIRS *has been created to meet this need.* It brings together–*for the first time*–the finest, most significant books on all aspects of urban life. Under the guidance of a distinguished Editorial Advisory Board, these books are selected for their timeliness, their ability to cut through to the heart of a problem, to stimulate lively, even controversial ideas. For municipal officials, city planners, caseworkers, teachers, architects, urban scholars, and many others, The Library represents a unique opportunity to expand their knowledge in other vital areas.

Each month, you receive a special report on books available to members at savings up to 40%. You need accept as few as three books during the next twelve months. And you receive a free Bonus Book of your choice with every fourth purchase.

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP OFFER: As a Charter Member of THE LIBRARY OF URBAN AFFAIRS, you may accept *any 3* of the books described on this page for only $1.00 each (values to $33.95). Simply circle the books you want and return the coupon to us. You can then begin to enjoy the many advantages of membership in this exciting and unique new program.



CHOOSE ANY 3
(values up to $33.95)
of these outstanding books
for only one dollar each

1. THE HEART OF OUR CITIES. *Victor Gruen.* An architect-planner's vigorous, witty, and profound analysis of the ills of our cities–with many workable suggestions for their cure. With over 150 illustrations from the author's own files. List Price $8.50

2. THE ROAD TO H. *Isidor Chein & Associates.* The single most important study of drug addiction, with controversial proposals for its treatment, prevention, and control. A penetrating study of one of the most serious social problems of our time. List Price $12.50

3. THE URBAN COMPLEX. *Robert C. Weaver.* President Johnson's chief advisor on urban affairs considers major problems of our cities: the impact of urbanization on society, the middle-class flight to the suburbs, etc. List Price $4.95

4. TO BE EQUAL. *Whitney M. Young, Jr.* The Executive Director of the National Urban League offers practical alternatives to continuous racial conflict–a comprehensive program of special effort in education, housing, welfare, and leadership. List Price $5.00

5. THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES. *Jane Jacobs.* A brilliant attack on current methods of city planning and rebuilding. Presents practical if unorthodox proposals for revitalizing our cities. List Price $7.50

6. MENTAL HEALTH IN THE METROPOLIS: The Midtown Manhattan Study. *Leo Srole & others.* First contribution to a definitive series on mental health in an urban community. Reports on eight years of intensive research into the mental health of 1660 persons living in midtown Manhattan. List Price $6.75

7. GOVERNING THE METROPOLIS. *Scott Greer.* Analyzes politics and government in metropolitan areas: the community power structure, the social and economic changes affecting city politics, the influence of suburbia, much more. List Price $4.95

8. SICK CITIES. *Mitchell Gordon.* Air pollution, water contamination, deterioration of downtown areas, traffic congestion–these and other alarming aspects of city life are examined in this lively, enlightening book on the current urban dilemma. List Price $6.50

9. THE SEXUAL OFFENDER AND HIS OFFENSES. *Benjamin Karpman, M.D.* Our rising crime rate makes this exhaustive work on sexual abnormalities essential reading. Over 300 detailed case studies List Price $12.50

10. THE DROP-OUTS. *Solomon O. Lichter & others.* Why do adolescents leave school? How can we alleviate the drop-out problem? Here is a candid, thoroughly documented study of the drop-out situation, including practical solutions and many actual case histories. List Price $5.95

11. URBAN GROWTH DYNAMICS. *Chapin & Weiss, editors.* Specialists in city and regional planning, sociology and other disciplines examine the economic, political, and social dimensions of urban growth and the environment within which it is taking place. List Price $8.95

12. MAN'S STRUGGLE FOR SHELTER IN AN URBANIZING WORLD. *Charles Abrams.* The leading consultant on housing discusses current housing problems in the world's urban centers and offers concrete proposals for dealing with this critical situation. List Price $7.95

13. CASEWORK: A Psychosocial Therapy. *Florence Hollis.* A milestone in casework theory and practice. Dr. Hollis surveys current approaches to casework and offers important new formulations for more effective treatment. List Price $8.50

CHARTER MEMBERSHIP FORM

Library of Urban Affairs 59 Fourth Ave./New York 10003

Please enroll me as a Charter Member and send me the three books circled below, for which I will be billed only $1.00 each plus postage. I understand that I need buy as few as three more books during the next twelve months, and I will receive a *free* Bonus Book of my choice after every fourth Selection.

Circle three:

1 2 3 4 5
6 7 8 9 10
11 12 13

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code # _____

NR4

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of anarchist achievement, and Mr. Joll's most original and exciting chapter is the tangled tale of the anarchists in the Spanish Republican government. He tells the story with authority, making extremely complicated events simple; quietly lifting events to the level of tragedy, where they belong.

It is easy to poke fun at anarchism; and even an honest and kindly interpreter like Mr. Joll sees how ridiculous anarchists could be. Prince Kropotkin's model society, for example, was based on the voluntary activities of the British Life-boat Association. Certain ironies are too delicious to miss: in good anarchist style, the IWW abolished the office of its president in 1906, as a relic of autocratic power. The deposed president would not hand over the files, however, and the anarchists had to take the ignominious step of calling in the police.

But all through the 19th Century and into the 20th, the anarchists were offering a serious critique of the consequences of scientific socialism. This has not been appreciated. I don't believe – and I don t think Mr. Joll believes – that anarchism could ever stand on its own as a doctrine of social reform. For obvious reasons, it always suffered from organizational difficulties – organized anarchism is self-contradictory, like a Thoreau Society. But its Marxist critics betrayed themselves in their attacks on the anarchists: Engels was quite right when he told them that a revolution was the most authoritarian thing there is, but who would want to be as ruthlessly clear as the Marxists on the questions of ends and means? The tragedy of anarchist failure parallels the tragedy of Marxist success.

The anarchist movement was as likely as Marxism to perpetuate the hostility separating classes; and anarchism probably did a disservice to European socialist movements by keeping them out of politics in the name of a misty revolution that never came. The anarchists, too, talked in monologues, and, except for the gentlest, picked up the vicious modern habit of denying that their enemies were, after all, human. Also it should be remembered that certain of the anarchists were brazen cheats and frauds, exploiting the misery and passionate credulity of ignorant men. Anarchism promised so much more than it could ever deliver.

What the movement does offer us, apart from an understanding of a strange and terrible century, is shown by Mr. Joll in this moving book: it offers a gallery of heroes and their *beaux gestes*, men and women who stood with unshakable nobility against the corruption of institutions we all know are more or less corrupt. There are military figures like Makhno, who successfully maintained an anarchist army in the Ukraine during the first years of the Russian Civil War; sad political figures like Frederica Montseny, painfully adjusting her anarchist family traditions to the necessity of working in the Spanish Republican government; and incomparably pure figures like Kropotkin, who in his life achieved what Camus said was the most difficult modern task: to become a saint without God. Kropotkin told Lenin to his face that his revolution was a cruel failure, and, in 1921, when the Prince died, and the black flag of anarchism was paraded for the last time through the streets of Moscow, all the anarchists were in prison.

"ROBERT KENNEDY *and Mount Jack Kennedy are going to have a summit conference, and not even the Royal Kennedyian Mounted Police can tell for sure which one is the mountain and which Mahomet.*"

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, send 25¢ to Dept. R-1, 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N. Y.

The Principal Navigations of the English Nation

by Paul Murray Kendall

It is almost impossible for a reviewer to overpraise – or for a reader to be disappointed in – the *Voyages* of Richard Hakluyt (pronounced Hacklewit or Hacklit, rather than Webster's Hakloot). They leap directly from the page into the mind and heart – these accounts of derring-do (and trading too) in remote seas, which forever keep alive a fresher, simpler, more zestfully and imaginatively acquisitive world than ours, narratives that recreate by eyewitnesses, Elizabethan accent and all, the first age of discovery, when mariners and merchants – was Sir John Hawkins a trader who adventured or an adventurer who traded? – with an eye to markets, a flair for exploration, and a mastery of aplomb in bizarre or perilous circumstances, struck out northeast and northwest and southwest across the wastes of ocean to open trade routes and lay claim to the green breast of a mysterious continent, and confound the plans of the Kings of Spain and Portugal.

Hakluyt's Voyages
edited by Irwin R. Blacker
(Viking; $7.95)

The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth . . . were published in final form in three huge volumes, 1598-1600, running to more than a million-and-a-half words. Richard Hakluyt, who died in the same year as Shakespeare, described himself on the title page as "Preacher, and sometime Student of Christ-Church in Oxford"; he was, in fact, the agent of merchants, the publicist of colonization, who spent his life assembling this gigantic epic of greed and vision, blood and courage, which stands, as a literary monument of the age, along with Bacon's *New Atlantis* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and the plays of William Shakespeare.

Hitherto generally available only in the complete 12-volume edition of 1903-05, *The Voyages* are now made readily accessible in a single volume of selections edited by Irwin R. Blacker. His introduction is concisely informative. His choices aptly express the range of time and space and materials encompassed in the original – from Sebastian Cabot in the earlier years of the 16th Century, "waxing old" but

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

What they say *about* THE PROGRESSIVE

U. N. Secretary General U Thant
I want to congratulate you on the very high standard of journalism maintained in The Progressive.

Senator Ernest Gruening
I consider The Progressive indispensable. In my home we subscribe to many magazines. I derive stimulation and information from all of them, but from none more than I do from The Progressive.

Norman Thomas
Our country literally cannot afford to be without The Progressive.

Ambassador Adlai Stevenson
I hardly ever miss an issue of The Progressive, and when I do, I regret it.

John Kenneth Galbraith
I read The Progressive with enormous interest and profit.

Senator J. W. Fulbright
The Progressive is a valuable journal for people of all political persuasions.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
The Progressive magazine is one of the most creative, forward-looking, and constructive journals published today. It deals with the vital issues of our day in a profound, inspirational, and painstaking manner. Its treatment of the civil rights issue is both forthright and depthful. It has remained true to a genuine liberalism. I read every issue of The Progressive.

Senator Joseph Clark
The Progressive should have a wider audience because it has so many important things to say.

Dr. Frederick H. Burkhardt, President, American Council of Learned Societies:
The Progressive is the outstanding liberal magazine in the United States.

Senator Eugene McCarthy
Americans look to The Progressive for objective reporting and an enlightened liberal approach.

Edward P. Morgan
The Progressive is the liveliest, most stimulating publication I know.

Vice President Hubert Humphrey
I don't know what we would do without The Progressive. You are doing a truly splendid job.

Chester Bowles
Intelligent, incisive, and penetrating . . I know of no journal that has fulfilled more consistently and responsibly the role of a liberal social critic.

Senator George McGovern
The Progressive, since 1909, has maintained the high standards established by Robert LaFollette—tough independence, realistic analysis, and incisive reporting.

Justice William O. Douglas
The Progressive is a vital force in the fight for social justice.

Senator Gaylord Nelson
The Progressive subjects all our great public problems to the searchlight of intelligence, unencumbered by the ties of political party or the pressures of advertisers or economic self-interest.

Among Recent Writers

JAMES BALDWIN
JAMES A. WECHSLER
HARRY GOLDEN
LEON KEYSERLING
HAROLD TAYLOR
ELMO ROPER
JAMES MACGREGOR BURNS
RICHARD ROVERE
ROGER BALDWIN
EDWARD T. CHASE
MARGARET LONG
SIDNEY HYMAN
SIDNEY LENS
MILTON MAYER
KARL E. MEYER
NEWTON MINOW
LAURENCE M. STERN
LILLIAN SMITH
STEVE ALLEN
ALAN BARTH
A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
JOSEPH L. RAUH, JR.

You, too, will enjoy and profit from The Progressive as do these and other liberal leaders. You, too, will appreciate its hard-hitting editorials, its national and international coverage in depth, its distinguished book reviews, and perceptive criticism of theatre, television, and art.

The Progressive has won most of the major awards for excellence offered in its field. It has subscribers in all 50 states and 116 foreign countries.

But you be the judge. Subscribe today and see for yourself why they say what they say about The Progressive.

SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

4 months for $1

Money Back Guarantee

Enclosed $1. Please send
The Progressive for four months to

Name .....

Address .....

.....

The Progressive

412 W. Gorham St. Madison, Wis.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND NEGRO EMANCIPATION

by Ralph Moellering

● "The contemporary racial crisis is brought into historical relationship with the slavery crisis of one hundred years ago. This is scientifically sound. There is a genuine cultural and ideological connection between slavery and desegregation, and the manuscript is an extended account of the record of the churches in the field of race relations. The record of the churches is related to their growing new sense of responsibility, and to concrete proposals as to how their responsibility may be met.

"For many Christians the book will provide new insights into the meaning of the gospel for race relations." **George D. Kelsey, Drew University.**

In the midst of the current social revolution, many thoughtful Christians are uncertain of themselves. What position —and action—should they take in race relations? Whom should they believe? What does the church say? This book deals with a commodity desperately needed at this time: facts as opposed to myths. The author challenges the myth that the white southerner is to blame for the entire racial problem in this country, and explores and exposes the northerner's involvement in the racial complications of our day. Urbanites and suburbanites are being drawn into the problem through the integration of neighborhoods, churches and places of business. In the light of these developments it is necessary to recognize that the present Negro drive for equality is not an "invasion" of the white man's rights.

$3.75

At Your Bookstore

FORTRESS PRESS

2900 QUEEN LANE
PHILADELPHIA, PA. 19129

★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★★

contentedly giving "my selfe to rest from such travels, because there are nowe many yong and lustie Pilots and Mariners of good experience"; the narrative of that cool customer Anthony Jenkinson, apparently the first Englishman to view the Caspian Sea; Drake's circumnavigation of the globe and Hawkins's slaving voyages and Raleigh's colonizing misadventures; to the defeat of the Armada, 1588, and the raid against Cadiz, 1596, which, as Hakluyt realized, were part of England's worldwide struggle against Portuguese-Spanish dominion of the oceans and the newly discovered lands.

It is sad to report, then, that this volume is something of a non-publication. "Edited" turns out to mean no more than "provided with an introduction"; whereas these narratives call for explanatory headnotes, a glossary, above all, maps. Nonetheless, if the publisher has been foolishly niggardly, Mr. Blacker has done well what he has been permitted to do, and the *Voyages* themselves, maps or no, are a delight and refreshment of the spirit not to be missed.

More than ever, perhaps, today, in this dawn of the second age of exploration. For the way in which this 16th Century outburst of English venturing has been preserved is very different from contemporary chronicling of the surge toward the moon and the planets. The modern theme is grander, but on what shallow-strident instruments is it, too often, being played. Sounded against Hakluyt's salty pieces, our overcommunicated, slickly huckstered "coverage" (as of a political convention, sporting event, or meaty disaster), with its diurnal punditry and programmed ballyhoo, sounds flat indeed.

No second Hakluyt will carry
Us spaceward by his narratives.
"Communications" do not tarry
For plain accounts of racy lives.

Shown, shouted, defined in diagram,
Our astronautical emprise
Prompts not Te Deum but tedium –
Adventure gelded of surprise.

Is not the reachy blank of space
Blanketed by instant news?
This sortie of the human race
Can hardly stagger or bemuse.

Stay-at-homes with tender bottoms
Remotest hazards fully share:
The far, the frightful, fate and atoms
Are all machined to daily fare.

Immortal *Voyages*, sail you on!
Our second voyagers will not stir
Surmise of the perilous Unknown –
Already we have all been there.

You, unshackling dreams and dares,
Conjured awe in language terse.
We busily vulgarize the stars
And nutshell all the universe.

The Phenomenon Called Mencken

by Gerald W. Johnson

H. L. Mencken died nine years ago and was incapacitated by illness for eight years before his death. Thus he vanished from the American literary scene seventeen years ago which would seem time enough, in all conscience, for the *cognoscenti* to have classified, evaluated, tagged, and catalogued him definitely and permanently.

H. L. Mencken: The American Scene
a Reader
edited by Huntington Cairns
(Knopf; $8.95)

There has been no lack of effort along that line. There have been three book-length biographies, one friendly, one critical, one an obscenity. There have been many reissues of his works. There have been at least five anthologies. There is Adler's monumental bibliography. Nor does this take into account innumerable articles in the periodical press, ranging from shrewd and penetrating appraisals to rank imbecilities.

But he will not stay put. Disposing of Mencken is like clutching quicksilver; it involves little effort, but less accomplishment. He has been demolished more times than the nine cities that were

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constructed on the site of Troy; yet

John Barleycorn got up again,
And sore surpris'd them all –

a simile that would have met with his hearty approval.

Now comes Huntington Cairns with a book that, taken as a whole – selections, commentary, and an introduction that is a brief critical study – presents one aspect of Mencken with a clarity not achieved by any of the earlier works. To borrow, or maybe to embezzle Schopenhauer's phrase, here is Mencken as Will and Idea, with no more than subsidiary attention to his aspect as Method.

For the particular job Cairns is perhaps the best qualified man in the country. He is a scholastic not institutionalized; that is to say, he has steadily extended the range of his scholarship without formal membership, since his undergraduate days, in any academic community. Occasional lectureships at Johns Hopkins and the Law School of the University of Maryland do not invalidate the generalization that he is a scholar, but not a professor – respectful of, but in no form of socage to the Establishment.

Thus with no institution to protest, nor any sophomore to indoctrinate, Cairns is relieved of the ordinary schoolman's spiritual obligation to pursue and extirpate any form of heresy in Method. As a rule, this is a praiseworthy endeavor, for the raucous statement is commonly void of thought; but there are occasions when an idea lurks behind the heresy, and the schoolman's peril is that he will so exhaust his powers in protecting Method that he will not have left force enough to penetrate to the idea.

This was vividly illustrated in the case of Mencken by the conclusion of one of Stuart Sherman's attacks upon him. Sherman, forgotten now but then a mighty potentate among the academic critics, flung at Mencken one of the prime imbecilities of literary criticism: "Where there is no delicacy there is no literature." So much for Aristophanes, Petronius, Juvenal, Rabelais, Voltaire and Swift! So much for Mencken!

Cairns, avoiding this trap, has carefully shaped his whole book, introduction, selections, commentary, to point to the idea behind Mencken's heretical Method. That idea was the destruction of fraud, particularly pious fraud – toward the impious variety he was sometimes perversely tolerant. He brought to the attack immense resources of learning, as well as vigor, and in appreciation of this Cairns, the scholar, shines. He has the additional advantage of being old enough to have some memory of how rampant fraud, especially intellectual fraud, was in Mencken's great days.

Yet valuable as this work is, it goes only one-third of the way toward a complete analysis of the phenomenon that was called Mencken. Two other aspects of the man still await adequate treatment. One is his heretical Method; the other is his obvious limitation as a critic. Curiously little attention has been paid to the fact that Mencken's apparent heresy consisted of nothing more than use of dramaturgy as a mode of communication. It is a truism that the stage, at its best, presents not life, but life magnified by ten diameters and so making plain relations invisible to the naked eye. Consider, then, the opening roar in Cairns's anthology, the headlong assault on democracy entitled "On Being an American." Choose whatever statement seems to be the most monstrous lie in the whole essay and, without altering its pattern, reduce its dimensions by 90 percent. What you have left is invariably a matter of common knowledge. Magnification is falsification only if the microscopist's lens is a liar. The intelligent reader of Mencken does not expect to encounter amoebae the size of dinner-plates; but he has learned something about amoebae.

Cairns expounds lucidly Mencken's passage through his three careers as first literary, then social, and finally political critic, some overlapping, of course, being taken for granted; but he is not so clear about the unevenness of quality in the criticism. As a literary critic Mencken was not simply the best, he was also the worst because he was the only one read by any considerable number of Americans. When *The Mercury* was Mencken it had 66,000 subscribers; and there was not then – and probably is not now – another serious critic with 6,000 equally constant readers.

As a social critic Mencken was highly effective. Mr. Martin Dooley may have punctured as many inflated balloons, but Dooley never ripped them wide open as Mencken did.

Why, then, was an excellent literary, and an effective social critic, a calamity as a political analyst? Here is a problem worth the attention of some exceptionally able psychologist, for the answer probably has to do with the over-compensation of an emotional man terrified of emotionalism. But that is unexplored terrain mentioned here only because Cairns, like the rest, leaves it unexplored.

Which by a natural transition leads to the basic significance of this book: it shows that seventeen years of effort, sometimes brilliant effort, have not been enough to dissect, describe, and define the late H. L. Mencken.

FREE!

with trial subscription, the current issue of

Commentary

The distinguished independent journal of thought and opinion sponsored as a public service by the American Jewish Committee

For new subscribers only

COMMENTARY, Dept. NR-31
165 East 56th St.
New York, N. Y. 10022
Please send, **FREE,** the current issue of COMMENTARY and enter my 7-month trial subscription for $3.37 [$9 a year at the newsstand —$7 a year by subscription]

Name_____

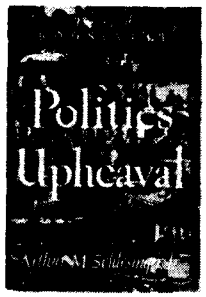
Address_____

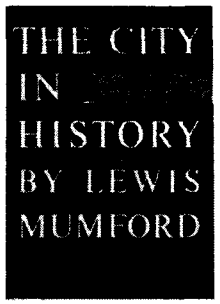
City/Zone_____ State_____

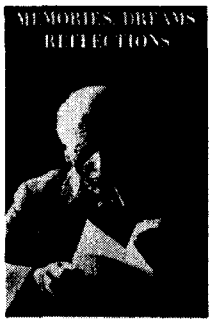
☐ EXTRA ISSUE! Enclose $3.37 now and we will extend your subscription to 8 months.

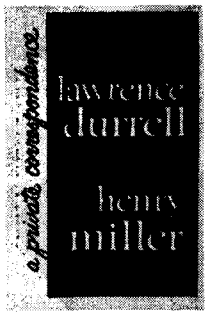
Use separate sheet for gift subscriptions

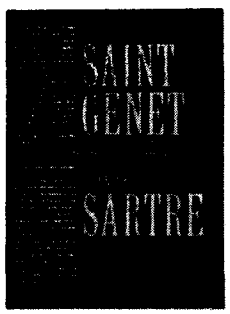
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

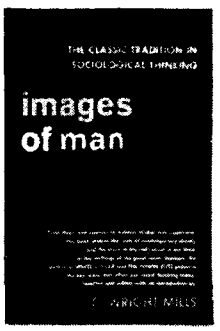






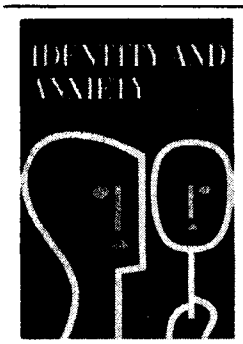


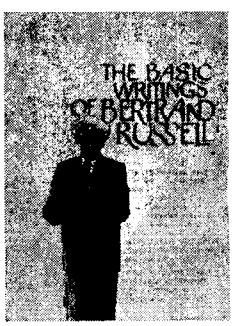


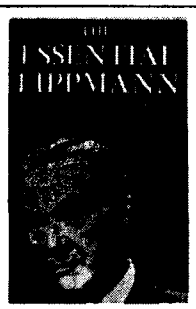


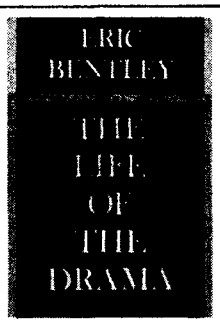
ANY THREE

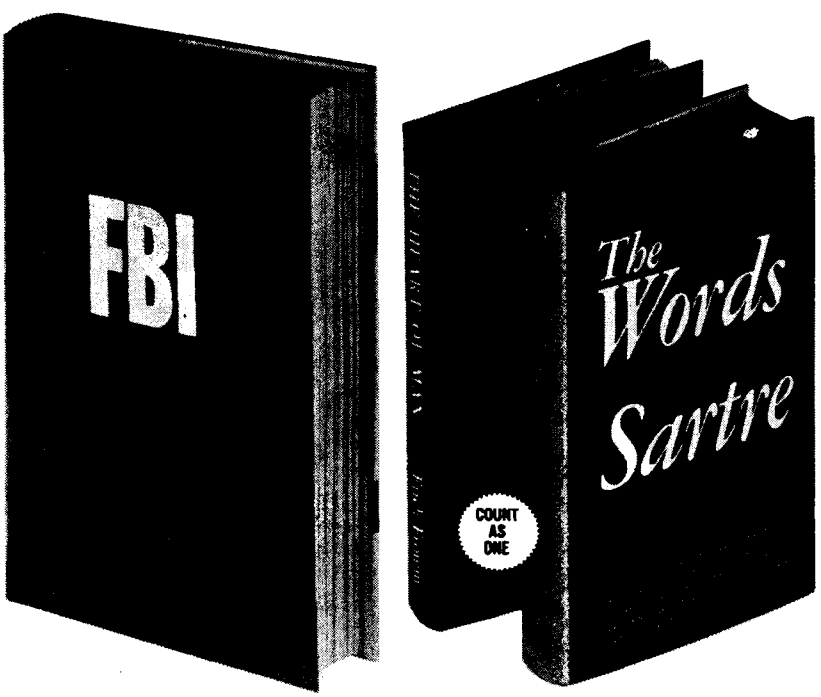
WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION









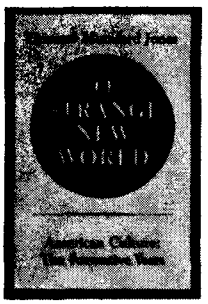


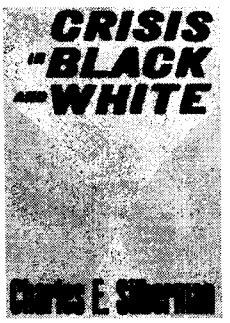
SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE–Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value–solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as 5 books in this way. ■ **CONVENIENCE.** Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home–enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want. ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $36.55.** ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

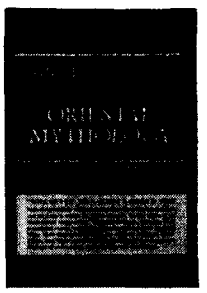
The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $4.95
Pedro Martinez: *a Mexican Peasant and his Family,* Oscar Lewis.
Retail $8.75 ..... Member's price $5.95
The City in History, Lewis Mumford ..... Retail $11.50. Member's price $6.95
Memories, Dreams, Reflections, C. G. Jung ... Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.95
Lawrence Durrell and Henry Miller: *A Private Correspondence.*
Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50
Saint Genet: *Actor and Martyr,* Jean-Paul Sartre. Retail $8.50. Member's price $5.95
Images of Man: *The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking,* edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Spencer, Weber, Max, Engles, Veblen, and many others. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95
Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* A massive compendium of studies by Mead, Mills, May Swados, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, and many more. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $5.95
The Essential Walter Lippmann: *A Political Philosophy for Liberal Democracy.* Editors: Clinton Rossiter & James Lare .... Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50
The Life of the Drama, Eric Bentley. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95
The FBI Nobody Knows, Fred J. Cook. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95
***The Words,** Jean-Paul Sartre; and **The Heart of Man,** Erich Fromm.
Combined retail price $8.95 ..... Member's price (for both books) $5.95

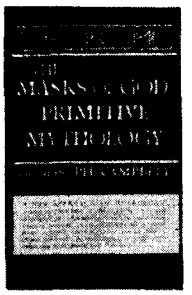
***TWO BOOKS COUNTING AS ONE SELECTION**

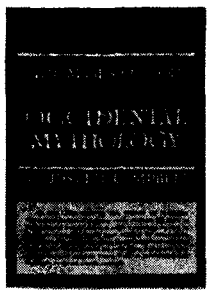
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





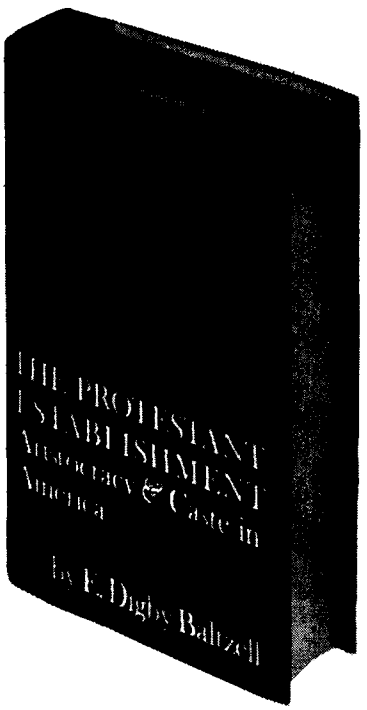


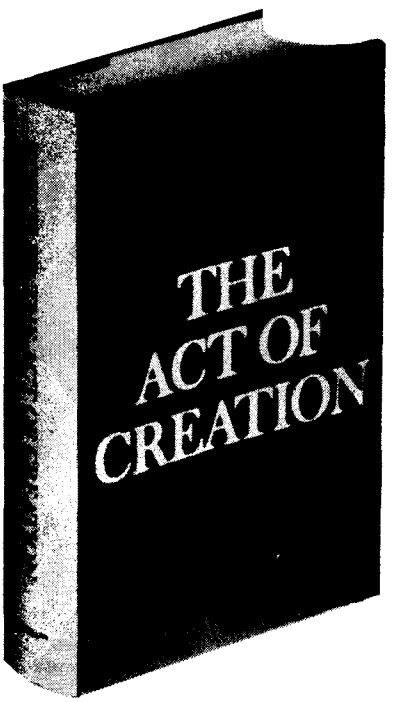


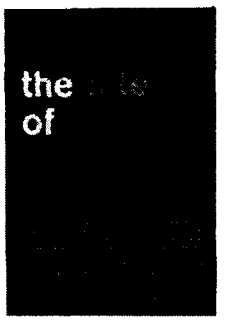


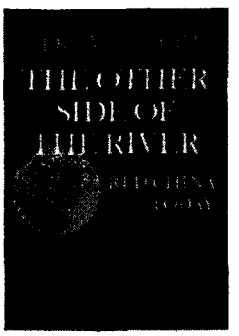
BOOKS FREE

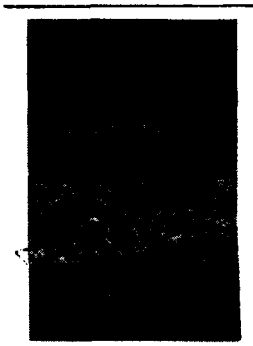
RETAIL VALUES UP TO $42.50

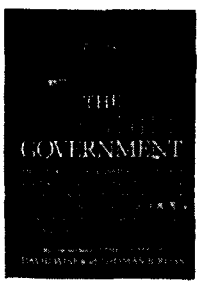


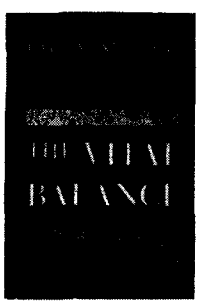


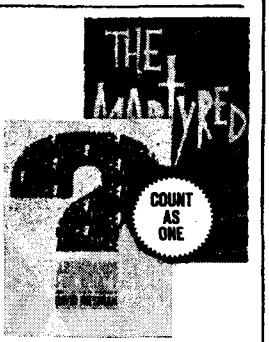












O Strange New World: *American Culture: The Formative Years,* Howard Mumford Jones. Retail $8.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

Crisis in Black and White, Charles E. Silberman. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.95

Oriental Mythology: *The Masks of God,* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $5.50

Primitive Mythology: *The Masks of God,* Joseph Campbell. Retail $6.00 ..... Member's price $4.50

Occidental Mythology: *The Masks of God,* Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Aquinas, Spencer, Nietzsche, Engles, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and others. Retail $7.50 ..... Member's price $4.95

The Other Side of the River: Red China Today, Edgar Snow. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.95

Freedom in the Ancient World, Herbert J. Muller. Retail $7.50 Member's price $4.95

The Invisible Government, David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Retail $5.95 ..... Member's price $4.50

The Vital Balance: *The Life Process in Mental Health and Illness.* Karl Menninger. Retail $10.00 ..... Member's price $6.95

***Abundance for What?** David Riesman; *and* **The Martyred,** Richard E. Kim. Combined retail price $11.00 ..... Member's price (for both books) $6.50

The Protestant Establishment: *Aristocracy & Caste in America,* E. Digby Baltzell. Retail $6.95 ..... Member's price $5.50

The Act of Creation, Arthur Koestler. Retail $8.95 ..... Member's price $5.95

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, Inc.

215 Park Ave. South, N. Y., N. Y. 10003

You may enroll and send me the 3 free books of my choice, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates from the wide range of books that will be made available to me in the coming year at substantial savings. When I do not want the *current selection—or prefer to order another book—I* may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____

Please print full name

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

(Same offer & prices apply in Canada: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.) B65-4NR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Outstanding from McGraw-Hill

THE CLOWN
Heinrich Böll. A devastating novel of modern Germany by the author of *Billiards at Half-Past Nine.* "Very funny, as well as sad, as well as salutary" (N. Y. Review of Books). "As sensitive and meaningful a book as has come out of Europe since the end of the war" (Kay Boyle). 2nd printing $5.00

WHERE MIST CLOTHES DREAM AND SONG RUNS NAKED
Sara. An extraordinary first novel about love, longing, tenderness—and the bitter frustrations of a Jewish family in Boston during the Depression. A truly beautiful book" (Walter Van Tilburg Clark). $4.50

WHO MADE THE LAMB
Charlotte Painter. A fresh and striking statement on a theme as old as man—pregnancy and childbirth. "The expression of a first-rate mind and spirit" (Marya Mannes). "It very beautifully conveys the reality of an experience to which we men are strangers, and never falters in its delicacy of perception and accumulative force" (Sir Herbert Read).
2nd printing $4.95

THEY WILL BE HEARD:
America's Crusading Newspaper Editors
Jonathan Daniels. The vivid chronicle of our great newspaper editors—from John Peter Zenger to Hearst—as they take up their country's causes, fight for them, fail and triumph in them. A journalistic *Profiles in Courage.* $6.50

KOTCH
Katharine Topkins. A brilliantly funny and heartbreaking novel by "a writer most formidably equipped" (Times Literary Supplement) about a foxy grandpa and a pregnant, unmarried teenager. By the author of *All the Tea in China.* $4.50

At all bookstores

McGRAW-HILL

The Air, Etc., We Breathe

by James Ridgeway

Automobile exhaust is a major uncontrolled source of air pollution. But Mr. Carr, a chemist who has delved into the perplexities of the question, here suggests that measures now proposed to reduce amounts of the various gases

The Breath of Life
by Donald E. Carr
(Norton; $3.95)

spewed out of tail pipes actually make matters worse. He feels that the systems auto manufacturers grudgingly agreed to put in 1966 model vehicles in California and which Senator Muskie would like to see in all autos, will result in *increasing* levels of nitrogen dioxide in the air to a point where the public health may be endangered. While the California control devices will reduce the amounts of irritating hydrocarbons coming from exhausts, nobody yet knows how to deal with nitrogen dioxide. The best the experts in California can do for the time being is to promise more research.

Philip Leighton, a retired Stanford professor who has investigated photochemical smog, believes that removal of certain hydrocarbons from exhaust may bring about a hazardous condition because nitrogen oxides will disappear more slowly since they would have fewer things to react with. Though this view is disputed by other scientists, Mr. Carr defends it. At least, he argues, it is foolish to push on with a controls program without first knowing whether there is some chance of ever controlling nitrogen dioxide.

On a smoggy day in Los Angeles, Carr says the nitrogen dioxide level will reach 0.7 parts per million. He then cites research indicating that less than three parts per million can result in chronic lung conditions such as the disease, emphysema. Other studies suggest that smaller amounts of nitrogen dioxide can be a contributing cause of cancer. Even if research into exhaust control systems could produce an exhaust device to handle all smog-forming chemicals, each one, says Mr. Carr, would cost at least $150 and would need delicate mechanical maintenance.

Mr. Carr proposes to start afresh. He would like auto manufacturers to produce vehicles powered by electricity. He feels that large numbers of these cars could be marketed. They would be inexpensive, would not contaminate the air and would be just right for stop and go driving in cities and suburbs. Why not? Many families now own two cars; they could use the electric one for short hauls, reserving the high-powered gasoline model for long trips on superhighways. Manufacture of large supplies of inexpensive electric autos, Carr claims, would be better than building the costly rapid transit systems so often proposed.

There is no way of learning whether the auto manufacturers can clean up the mess their cars leave behind, because they haven't tried very hard. In California they have dragged their feet every inch of the way. The Automobile Manufacturers Association, the industry trade group, spends about $1 million a year on research into exhaust control, which by Detroit standards is peanuts. The federal government puts only a quarter of its small $12 million research funds into auto exhaust control research, even though all signs point to exhaust as being the really big contributor to air pollution. Mr. Carr says the control effort in California is a farce. It may be, but if it weren't for the work put in by people there, fewer people in the rest of the country would know about air pollution. And to replace gas autos on congested city streets with electric ones may reduce pollution but it won't help solve the urban traffic congestion. Possibly the smelly evil of bad air may prove a help to city planners who want to get cars out of the city entirely.

Summerlane Camp
A democratic, integrated camp for boys and girls ages 6-18.
Dept. NR, Route 2
Roscoe 1, New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The (Merrill) Novel

by J. M. Edelstein

James Merrill, one of the superior poets writing today, has always had a tendency toward the elliptical. It is that tendency which has given his poetry its characteristic verbal elegance, its wit and urbanity. Now, in his second novel, *The (Diblos) Notebook*, he has exercised the same concentrated skill to give us a fascinating confrontation of the self in the form of a fictional experiment.

The (Diblos) Notebook
by James Merrill
(Atheneum; $4.50)

A young writer keeps a notebook, recording at one and the same time a series of happenings on the Greek island of Diblos in which he is deeply involved together with his attempts to transform these happenings into a novel. Everything which might be found in a writer's notebook is used here with ingenious concentration: the false starts which end in the middle of a thought; the endless revisions, canceled out in search of the right word or phrase; the many approaches and backtrackings as the writer looks for an entrance to the materials through several possible doors; the musings on how the material is to be treated; the wrestlings with the problem of appearance and assumed reality.

The narrator is the half-brother of Orson – an Orestes figure, who is the notebook's central character. A youngish Greek-American university professor and man of letters, of vast enthusiasms and energy, Orson has gone back to Greece in search of his roots. The "novel" will begin seven years earlier, when the narrator (Sandy) pays his first visit to Diblos and Orson is establishing a liaison with Dora, a cultured, intelligent, older woman of the island. The younger brother sets down the bare bones of their story as part of the notebook kept on his second visit to Diblos, seven years later. At one point, abruptly, we are given a "fair copy" of Part Three of his novel, which describes the experiences of Dora and Orson in America, their marriage and their eventual separation. Then, back on Diblos, an encounter between the two brothers – the writer and his main character – forces both notebook and "novel" to a strange and surprising conclusion.

The (Diblos) Notebook will irritate some because it may seem that James Merrill has taken the novelist's responsibilities too lightly, or because the notebook technique appears to leave out too much, or because the ending may seem inconclusive, lacking in force, too abrupt. It is, however, just this intentionally impressionistic effect which is haunting: we know everything, and we know nothing. No masks are handed out by the author of *The (Diblos) Notebook* either to his characters or to his readers; one is faced only by intelligence and self-awareness. The man Orson/Orestes faces us at one point with the question: "What have you wanted out of this?" The reply he accepts is: "The experience. What else should one want?"

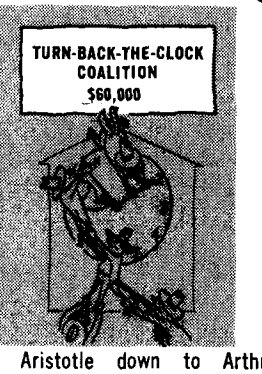
James Merrill's narrator expresses it best:

> "I reached a standstill after copying out these last pages, plotted & written & rewritten over 3 weeks on separate, unlined sheets. I had hoped to escape the tyranny of the Notebook – all my false starts, contradictions, irruptions of self, bound together, irrevocably. Books ought to consume their sources, not embalm them.
>
> "These 'finished' pages are the best I can do. They have their own movement, & are often believable. But they have become fiction, which is to say, merely life-*like*. I nearly stopped transcribing them when I came upon that upside-down, how-many-weeks-old dream (whose meaning is so disturbing today) & again when that most recent entry turned up – I'd have ripped it out but was too tired & indifferent to recopy one side of the page already covered.
>
> "Yesterday & today I read the whole notebook through. Actually, this last passage struck me as less artful than the earlier ones, with all their indecisions, pendimenti, glimpses of bare canvas, rips & ripples & cracks which, by stressing the fabric of illusion, required a greater attention to what was being represented."

With scenes that break and shift, time and images that are spliced together, past and present telescoped, and a central character who cannot hold onto even so much as his own identity, *The (Diblos) Notebook* is tantalizing and evocative. But however dreamlike, beneath the virtuosity of language and behind the technical brilliance of this adventurous experiment is a mind that is alive. Not always easy to like, nor always quickly understood, *The (Diblos) Notebook* is an inventive and important book in the best tradition of the experimental novel, which is also a pleasure to read.

Test your GQ* with the Washington do-it-yourself playkit for the Advise-and-Consent Set.

INFLUENCE®



From Aristotle down to Arthur Schlesinger, scholars have been trying to fathom the mysteries of the political process. Where they have failed, and we all agree they have failed . . . INFLUENCE, the Washington do-it-yourself playkit has succeeded. Just $4.95

*(greed quotient)

Washington Educational Enterprises Productions

W.E.E.P. D

1340 Connecticut Ave., N.W. Washington, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE RECKONING
Memoirs of Anthony Eden, Earl of Avon
"THE RECKONING is history from the decision-rooms of war . . . For historical interest it can be compared with Churchill's *The Second World War*. . . . The pages are peopled by giants." — *N.Y. Times Book Review* $8.50

THE KING AND HIS COURT
by Pierre Viansson-Ponté
"Discusses the ceremonies and manners that surround General de Gaulle . . . An invaluable job, this — a very serious book that is very funny." — *The New Yorker* $5.00

YEARS OF URGENCY 1938 - 1941
From the Morgenthau Diaries
by John Morton Blum
"John M. Blum of Yale University has fashioned in this, his second volume, a fresh, vital account of the era." — *N.Y. Times Book Review* $7.50

THE KAISER AND HIS TIMES
by Michael Balfour
"An elegant, sensible biography of Kaiser Wilhelm II that shows his bizarre character . . . The book is big, scholarly, and a great pleasure to read." — *The New Yorker* $6.95

At all bookstores
HOUGHTON MIFFLIN CO., *Publishers*

ART

Finances and the Eight

Quite suddenly and quite steeply, over the last five years financial life has revealed itself as still stirring within the dead bones of American painting prior to the Armory Show. Stirring? Leaping. William Merritt Chase, for example, a short time ago was thought to be one of the weakest of that whole period. In five years his price has risen by 500 percent, which isn't bad. At the end of the last decade his works were readily available. They are so no longer and will be even less so after a major show planned for next year. For accompanying the bull market in older Americans has been a museum reaction. Art institutions are reexamining the period and big shows have been held and are being prepared for many of the painters who worked in this country from 1875 to 1925. The institutional involvement in this case seems to be a return to former ways of art museums: it follows an authentic market interest instead of trying to create one.

Chase's fellow "American Impressionists," most of them a shade older than he, have also shared in the general revival of interest in our older painting and so have The Eight – Sloan, Glackens, Prendergast preeminently – and their contemporaries and juniors. The last year or so has seen an enormous exhibition of Sargent's "private" painting touring slowly around the country, a show more indicative of than responsible for a firm market rehabilitation of the man formerly cited as the classic example of boom and bust in art prices.

Why? Nobody really knows, but a phenomenon so inconceivable a decade ago and so solidly established now can bear some guessing.

The obvious explanation is the collapse in art not only of the avant garde but of the very idea of the avant garde, killed chiefly by its most extreme embodiment, the abstract expressionism or action painting of the 1950's. This movement was so stunningly successful in the market and in the museums as to constitute, for a few brief years, a true academy in the sense of establishing an approved manner of painting outside which there was no salvation. Art students ten years ago quite seriously set out to master a manner whose claim to virtue was that it could not be studied, learned and practiced like other manners, but had to well up like the skylark's song. The students, however, did succeed in their impossible quest and succeeded by the regiment. At the same time museums, dealers and dealer-critics transformed into a high-priced product a body of work whose unique claim was that it was no-product. Nothing could shock the bourgeoisie, not even prices, and action painting enjoyed a vogue comparable to that of tulips in the 17th Century. But long before it was over, the concept of an avant garde as an aesthetic-social phenomenon had ceased to have meaning. Pop and Op are thus elaborate anachronisms, much like the wildly decorative armour of the late Renaissance, fashioned and worn long after the idea of armour had lost its meaning.

It is not only the collapse of the avant garde that has allowed dealers, collectors and museums to pay more attention to American painting of the half century from 1875 to 1925. There was also the nature of that last avant garde. It was blatantly American, so much so that an early anachronist-gardsman, the proto-Popper Jasper Johns, made his most sensational "breakthroughs," as they were then still called, by painting the Stars and Stripes over and over again in perfect plain, flat design given some zip by a miniature imita-

BOOK HUNTING?
Any Book Located
No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, all subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation. Write to—
BOOKS-ON-FILE
Dept. NEW
Union City New Jersey

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of abstract expressionist brushwork. The youth and vigor of the New World had been captured in art at last and the Old World was expected to learn from it.

The mystique was fraught with paradox, not the least being its creation as a fiercely "American" thing in the New York of World War II under the benevolent patronage of the European displaced surrealists and of Peggy Guggenheim, an expatriate of great standing and one who got right back over there as soon as it was comfortable to travel. But in whatever fashion and as a result of whatever murky misunderstandings, that last avaunt of the garde made it once and for all respectable to be American.

Thus: with Americanism established as an acceptable value, with avantism collapsed into the joke of Pop and Op, dealer, collector and museum man are all free to roam through the American reality, to discover realms of achievement worthy of anyone's exploration and capable of affording immense enjoyment.

Several such realms were created by the painters of the half century surrounding 1900. The period was interesting from many points of view, among them the fact that it saw the birth of the artist-pariah tradition in America. From the earliest untutored portraitmen of the colonies, American artists had been able to scratch along and by mid-19th Century the scratching was pretty good. The young men who went to Europe for study in the '70s, however, came home to find the market melting away. As part of the gilding of the gilded age, American money was discovering European art, most of it strictly academic in the worst, or French, sense, or at best Barbizon. The gilded tradition continued right up through the heyday of Salvador Dali at the Museum of Modern Art in the 1930s: Modern art, like all other kinds, was assumed to be European. However different in kind and in spirit the works may be of, say, Metcalf and Sloan, Thayer and Glackens, Twachtman and Bellows, they all shared the not inconsiderable stigma of being Americans in America.

The "rediscovery" now in progress is therefore particularly fitting as a by-product of the self-destruction of the avant garde. The generation of Chase were the first American victims of avantism. It is good that they are among the first to be rehabilitated.

It is also true that just about enough time has gone by – from 50 to 90 years – to enable us to see clearly the art we grew up despising as inferior to "our" art.

From Chase and Twachtman through Glackens and Sloan, there is great dash in the work. When, early in this century, the magic number of American painting changed from The Ten to The Eight, the change, we can now see, was much less than then it seemed. The artist's gaze moved from apple blossoms along the Hudson and autumn in Pennsylvania to snow in Greenwich Village backyards and the good life at Chez Mouquin, but the mood and a great deal of the method remained constant: the temper and the technique of celebration.

When Twachtman floats a cloud of green across a meadow, or Dwight Tryon tries for every single leaf taking the light in its own way, they may be adapting Impressionism to our land; more important, they are celebrating the land, and so are Sloan and Glackens. Throughout the period there is a joyous humor, a joyous sentiment, a joyous act of painting. Perhaps the joy came from being liberated from fashion and patronage, for it is certain that with the reunion of the pariah and the patron, all joy departed and is hardly made up for by the simpers emanating from Pop.

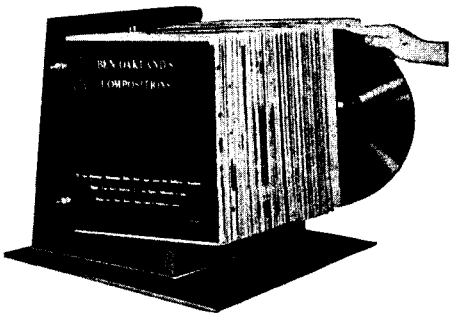
Why the revival? As much as anything, the search for joy in art.

Frank Getlein

ORDER BY MAIL FROM CALHOUN'S

Amazing New Way to Store

RECORDS



Every Record At Your Fingertips Automatically

No More Searching!
No More Clutter!

- **The Record Is Removed, Not The Album**
- **Holds 120 Albums in only 17"**
- **All Albums Are Numbered & Indexed**
- **Records Are Easy to Find, Replace**
- **Protects Records Against Damage**
- **Prevents Album Cover Mutilation**

Protect your valuable HI-FI records and at the same time have them accessible for easy playing and storing with a Disc Jockey Album Finder. No record in your collection need be at the bottom of the stack or mislaid in the record cabinet. Sturdy! Made of steel. Designed to fit any home decor. You will play more of your records more often, if you order your Album Finder today.

Only $12.95

plus $2.00 pp. & hd.

Complete with Heavy Duty Punch, Permanent Record Index and Duplicate Numbers.

NO RISK COUPON

CALHOUN'S SINCE 1923

800 White Bear, St. Poul, Minn. 55106

Please send me.....ALBUM FINDER/S at $12.95 each, plus $2.00 each for postage and handling. I enclose $..... If I'm not completely satisfied I'll return the material in 10 days for full refund.

(NR-5)

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... State .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

Arms and the Men

Major Dundee (Columbia)
Operation Crossbow (M-G-M)
In Harm's Way (Paramount)

As wars recede in time, they become entertainments; rather, as the immediacy of the suffering fades, the entertainment that is imminent in war can be more clearly perceived. Three new films make varying use of this well-tried truth.

Major Dundee's war is the one between the States. He is a Union officer in charge of a fort in the New Mexico territory where a number of Confederate prisoners are kept. One of these is a captain who was a West Point friend of the major's, now a particular enemy. Dundee is also responsible for protecting the area from the Apaches. When he has to capture a chief, he is shorthanded, and he asks for Confederate volunteers. Under their captain, they agree, and agree not to attempt escape until the job is done: at which time, the captain swears he will kill the major.

Familiar and welcome ground. John Ford and others have happily accustomed us to the cavalry troop as dramatic arena, with some nice primary-color polarities to keep matters humming in between the Indian battles. This script, by Harry Julian Fink, Oscar Saul, and Sam Peckinpah, begins traditionally and therefore well. Later, when the troop has pursued the Apaches into Mexico and the authors feel that romance is overdue, the story gets wobbly and slow, and only belatedly recovers. In its divagation we meet Senta Berger, who is precisely the Viennese widow of a Mexican doctor whom anyone would expect to meet, tending the wounded in a low-cut dress in a remote Mexican town. The producer's wish to include Miss Berger is very understandable; but credibility is not a component of her role. There is also a long drunken interlude while the major recovers from an arrow wound in another Mexican town, all of which seems to have been filmed and retained by mistake.

But most of the picture is dashingly done, with that always appealing combination of realistic detail and romantic sweep. Peckinpah, who directed, was praised for a Western of several years back called *Ride the High Country*, which I missed. But from this film it is easy to believe that the earlier one was good. He has an eye for action and for tension, and enough imagination to ring changes on the clichés of both veins. In addition he seems to have some understanding of actors. Charlton Heston, as Dundee, gives a much more acceptable performance than usual; and Richard Harris – an amusingly long way from Antonioni and *Red Desert* – plays the captain with fine cavalier panache. If his voice had better timbre and range, his future would seem bright. All the male parts are aptly cast; and, because of the special leatheriness of the leather and grittiness of the grit, mention ought to be made of the art director, costume man, and property master: respectively, Al Ybarra, Tom Dawson, and Joe La Bella.

On to World War II. *Operation Crossbow* could more accurately be called Operation Crossbreed: out of *The Guns of Navarone* by *The Counterfeit Spy*. (To select only two out of a hundred possible sires and dames.) It is a spy thriller dealing with the British moves to locate and sabotage the German V-2 effort towards the end of the war. The only extraordinary elements are: the mockery of Professor Lindemann, Churchill's wartime scientific adviser (played by Trevor Howard) who scoffed at the rocket menace; the highlighting of Duncan Sandys, Churchill's son-in-law (played by Richard Johnson), as a clear-eyed mastermind; and the fate accorded Sophia Loren. All that can be said about this last, without spoiling the surprise, is that it *is* a surprise.

George Peppard is pleasant in the leading role; Tom Courtenay, John Mills, Anthony Quayle, Jeremy Kemp are satisfactory. Lilli Palmer, playing a sympathetic German, continues to show that, as she matures, her acting improves. Michael Anderson, a capable

". . . he who demands
music instead of tootling,

enjoyment instead of
pleasure,

a soul instead of gold,

real work instead of
activity,

true passion instead of
dalliance,

. . ."

the teachers of

GREEN VALLEY SCHOOL

invite you to send

fifty cents for a

further introduction

Orange City 10, Florida

Notes on Contributors

Quentin Anderson, *a professor of English at Columbia University, is the general editor of a seven-volume history of American literature which will be published next fall.*

William Jay Smith *will spend the next academic year as poet-in-residence at Hollins College. His next book of poems is scheduled for publication by Knopf in October.*

John Wain, *the well-known British poet and novelist, is at present on a lecture tour of the US.*

Joseph Epstein, *formerly on the editorial staff of* The New Leader, *is now living in the South where he is a free-lance writer.*

Joseph L. Featherstone *is a Harvard graduate student who contributes frequently to this journal.*

John Updike's *newest book,* Collected Prose, *will be published next month.*

Paul Murray Kendall, *who teaches at the University of Ohio, is the author of a new book,* The Art of Biography.

J. M. Edelstein *is librarian for special collections at New York University.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

director, has made a picture which there is no strenuous reason to see but which, if you do see it, is not boring.

Poor Otto Preminger. He slides further and further down the slope of his abilities, no longer choosing his material with an eye for novelty, not bothering with his former slick direction, just sliding down and down and scraping millions of dollars along with him as he goes. *In Harm's Way* would have been incredible as a Preminger choice even five years ago, not because he was making masterpieces but because he was always looking for a clever gimmick or hook. (Making a picture about Senators in Washington and with some real Senators; making a courtroom picture that discussed rape in detail, with Joseph Welch as the judge, etc.) Preminger's latest is simply one more overlong epic of the naval war against the Japanese, with conventional story lines, characters, resolution. The one small variation is that the principals (John Wayne and Patricia Neal) are not young.

The very opening shot sets the level of invention: to the sound of a '30s dance tune, the camera pans across a garden past a sign announcing a naval officers' dance in Pearl Harbor on the night of December 6, 1941. And on it all comes: the tough old salt with a snippy ensign son; the crew who gather around an admired departing officer and gulp farewell (a syndrome known as Mr. Roberts's Rules of Order); the young wife who whispers to her lieutenant husband on their last night together: "Leave me with a baby"; the gallant but mad fellow who atones for wrongdoing by stealing a plane and going on a suicide mission. If the film were less ponderous, the familiarity of its materials might be as welcome as in *Major Dundee;* but its air of a definitive "unfake" statement on its subject only serves to underscore its triteness.

The one really notable point is not of naval but of film history: Wayne, who used to be a sergeant or junior officer in the war films of the forties, is now an admiral, and the picture's center of interest has moved upward with him, thus emphasizing Hollywood's failure to build new young stars.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

A HEARTFELT "THANK YOU"

from

MARTIN LUTHER KING, Jr.,

the Negroes of Selma, Alabama,

and the SCLC staff.

We are deeply touched and grateful for the warm sympathy expressed in all parts of the nation on behalf of our struggle.

When President Johnson declared that Selma, Alabama, is joined in American history with Lexington and Concord and Appomattox, he honored not only our embattled Negroes, but the overwhelming majority of the nation, Negro and White.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference has led the Selma struggle, but at its side were clergy and laymen of every race and faith, voluntarily risking brutality and even death.

Selma is a shining moment in the conscience of man. If the worst in American life lurked in the dark streets of Selma, the best of American democratic instincts arose from across the nation to overcome it.

The confrontation of good and evil, compressed in this tiny community, has generated the power to turn the whole nation to a new course.

The task of leading this hero community has all but exhausted our resources. Yet, to make victory real, we must continue and redouble our efforts. Until the laws are written and effectively enforced our work is not done.

Our SCLC staff veterans of Birmingham, St. Augustine and Montgomery, exceeding fifty, must be kept supplied. Local people who have sacrificed jobs, savings and health must be helped. The multitude of organizing expenses must be met.

At the same time, our self-help projects are operating in dozens of communities in South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and other states, providing literacy education for the wholly uneducated, and citizenship classes to remedy the faulty educations many have received.

Will you join us by contributing in this historic period as America, outraged and aroused, begins casting off its centuries old blight.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC)

A nonsectarian and non-profit agency

334 Auburn Ave., N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Martin Luther King, Jr., Pres. **Ralph Abernathy, Treas.**

Martin Luther King, Jr., SCLC, 334 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Ga. 30303

I am pleased to contribute $ ..... towards the struggle for human dignity.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....

☐ Please keep me informed of your continued program.

(Make checks payable to SCLC) 327

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

The Man from CBS

Sirs:

It is ironic that the critics of James T. Aubrey (late of CBS), including Murray Kempton (*NR* April 3) have succeeded only in making him look good at their own expense. Their orgy of self-righteousness has made Mr. Aubrey's purported evil seem, by contrast, downright appealing. Not only are they heavy-handed ("The friends of James T. Aubrey gathered yesterday," wrote Dick Schaap in the *Herald Tribune;* "both were upset"), but their taste level might give the producers of *Mr. Ed* pause. Consider Goodman Ace's *mot* about Mr. Aubrey's private life: "You have to get up pretty early in the morning to keep ahead of these men (Messrs. Paley and Stanton). And Jim was always known to get in around three or four."

I don't mean to group Mr. Kempton with terrible writers like Schaap and Ace; he has far too good a mind and far too much respect for the language. But he seems to suffer, as they do, from a selective amnesia about Aubrey's reign at CBS. We know *The Beverly Hillbillies* and *Petticoat Junction*. But there seems to be a conspiracy of silence about *The Defenders, The Nurses, East Side, West Side, Slattery's People,* and *For the People,* each, whatever its faults, the best new show of its respective season, and all on CBS. Aubrey's detractors would have you believe that he can take no credit for the various virtues of these items. But since the presumption is that he had everything to do with *Gomer Pyle,* it must also be assumed that he had at least something to do with his network's more ambitious efforts.

I don't wish to imply that Aubrey was running any Lincoln Center of the Air. Television is not an art form, but a business, and Aubrey was paid to make CBS pay. Yet he put *East Side, West Side* on the air half-sponsored and kept it there for 26 weeks at a cost to the network of $85,000 a week. They've made people Secretary of Defense for less. Nor do I deny that Aubrey was cavalier with his hired hands. He discarded Merle Miller like a used Kleenex after having him write 19 scripts for a proposed series called *Calhoun*. But what no one, least of all Merle Miller, has pointed out is that in the time slot originally intended for *Calhoun,* Aubrey finally scheduled *Slattery's People.*

Instead of kudos for Mr. Aubrey, however, we got applause for Miller's book *Only You, Dick Daring!,* a dismal whine about what sounded like a perfectly dreadful idea for a television series. The only imaginative comment about the series, in fact, came from, of all people, James Aubrey: "I see a man in a dirty Stetson driving a dusty pickup." The television industry went into ecstacies of self-flagellation over *Dick Daring. Life* even went so far as to have it lavishly praised by TV Executive Max Wylie, that paragon of good taste.

Now that Mr. Aubrey is gone, we are left with ABC's Tom *(Peyton Place)* Moore and NBC's Robert Kintner, who made Charles Van Doren a household name. Television is going to miss Jim Aubrey. He gave the business a little class.

John Gregory Dunne
Portuguese Bend, Calif.

Kempton and the Cops

Sirs:

I bitterly resent and reject the gratuitous comment of Murray Kempton ("The Scared Cop as Victim, March 27) who says:

> "Rochester made the further point: the policeman is loved only when he is on public view protecting the comfortable from the poor."

The salaries of Rochester policemen were not raised "a thousand-odd dollars a year." The raise in salary over a two-year period, as of July 1, 1965, will come to only a total of $1,022.

Mr. Kempton, while discussing New York City attitudes toward a proposed civilian police review board, might have taken cognizance of the fact that Rochester is one of two cities in the United States with such a board and that it was instituted despite political and other opposition generally. Mr. Kempton might have noted also that Rochester has a viable voluntary open-enrollment program in its schools and that it has made many steps to assist the educationally underprivileged.

I dislike the kind of off-the-cuff treatment extended this community and its police force, the members of which exhibited tremendous restraint in the face of extreme provocation during the riots of July, 1964. You should know that the local chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union commended the police force for its actions during the riots. No one was slain and no one was wounded by a police bullet during the riots. The good common sense and judgment of our policemen are adequate testimony to their worth, and we don't like Mr. Kempton's snide remark.

Arthur Deutsch, Director
Bureau of Public Information
Rochester, N.Y.

Our Vast Car Pool

Sirs:

Reading "Auto Buying Headaches," (March 27) I became aware that the conditions of my swimming pool loan with the colossus Bank of America were discomfortingly similar to the GMAC car loan described.

The arithmetic in this case has a certain cockeyed charm. I borrowed $1,800 ostensibly at 5 1/2 percent annual interest over a seven year period, but this is actually billed as 84 monthly payments of $33.03 or a total debt of $2,774.52. I asked what it would cost to pay up the loan after 19 months, during which time I will have already paid a total of $627.57. The answer given me was $1,664.74, for a total payment of $2,292.31, of which $492.31 would be for interest and other mysteries. Whatever one calls it, this means an annual rate of return of 17 percent for dear old B. of A. for the period of the actual loan.

Even more incomprehensible is the

TEEN-AGERS IN THE SUMMER

A new experience in work, leisure and community responsibility. Helps teen-agers achieve greater self-confidence. Co-ed. Boys 14-17; girls 13-16. Write for details about this challenging summer opportunity; state age as of next July and present grade in school. Address: **Registrar,**

Shaker Village Work Group
Box 1149-R, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here's why 568,000 people have turned to this famous book for the answers to their questions on

SEX AND MARRIAGE

"TELL ME, DOCTOR...."

(These are just a few of the hundreds of questions discussed in this book)

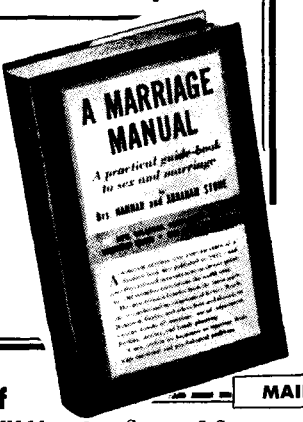
Who is fit for marriage?
What is the "art" of love?
What physical or mental ailments can be hereditary?
What is the best age for marriage?
Should marriage be postponed until the husband alone can support a family?
Should a person who is sterile marry?
Is a human egg like a bird's?
What is a false pregnancy?
What is artificial insemination?
What happens if the sex glands are removed in the female or male?
Is it possible to tell if a person is emotionally fit for marriage?
What is a "virgin birth"?
Why are premarital medical examinations important?
What is "natural" childbirth?
What is the best size for a family?
Can interfaith marriages be successful?
Can a couple know in advance if they will have children?
Are there any physical standards to follow in choosing a mate?
How soon after conception can a woman tell if she is pregnant?
What is the special function of the sex hormones?
What is menstruation? Menopause?
What are the causes of barrenness?
How does the rhythm in sexual desire vary in men and women?
Do the first sex experiences have a really important bearing upon marital adjustment?
If near relatives marry will their children be abnormal?
How reliable are the various contraceptive devices?
Can impotence be cured?
How does the embryo develop in the womb?
How often should couples have intercourse?
How soon after a child is born may relations be resumed?
What determines the sex of a child?
How safe is the "safe period"?
What are the first symptoms of pregnancy?
Why do some people fear intercourse?
Is intercourse during the menstrual period harmful?
Why is childbirth painful?
Is contraception harmful?
Is abstinence harmful?
How long does the process of childbirth take?
How long should sexual intercourse actually last?
Can the sex of a child be predicted?

***Tributes to* A MARRIAGE MANUAL**

"*A Marriage Manual* is sound and detailed beyond any other book for laymen, written by physicians. It is plain sex sense and straight-forward speech."
— DR. ROBERT L. DICKINSON, *Author* A THOUSAND MARRIAGES AND HUMAN SEX ANATOMY

"*A Marriage Manual* has been number one among books of this field for many years."
— ROBERT W. LAIDLAW, M.D., *formerly Pres. Amer. Assn. of Marriage Counselors*

"*A Marriage Manual* is unexcelled as a source-book of information and practical instruction."
— REV. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES *The Community Church of New York*



Now Available in This New, Completely Revised, Greatly Enlarged 48th Edition

A MARRIAGE MANUAL

By Drs. Hannah and Abraham Stone

THIS great book has gone through 47 printings! It has been translated into 12 languages. It has won praise from physicians and educators. A former president of the American Association of Marriage Counselors calls it "Number One among books in its field."

There are three good reasons why this famous book on sex and marriage has become a classic. First, it is friendly, clear, frank, and informal. Second, it has been so widely recommended by doctors, clergymen, marriage counselors, and enthusiastic readers. Third, it is most interestingly written: in the form of a series of question-and-answer interviews between a young engaged couple and the family doctor to whom they have come for guidance. The questions are the ones which men and women *do* ask when they consult their physicians about the most intimate problems of sex.

Specific Questions—Frank Answers

The questions asked cover just about every physiological and emotional problem, anxiety, and fear. The answers are given in non-technical language. Everything is clear and frank. And because of the wisdom and humanity of the authors, nothing is embarrassing.

As a result this is a book you can give with confidence to a daughter or son thinking of marriage. It is equally of help for the couple — whether newlyweds or a long-time married—whose marital relations are not completely happy, as well as for the loving and happy couple troubled by some emotional or sex problem.

SEND NO MONEY

Let us send you a copy of the newly revised 48th edition of A MARRIAGE MANUAL *(in plain wrapper)* to read and examine for TEN DAYS, together with a copy of THE COMPLETE BOOK OF BIRTH CONTROL at no extra cost. Then if you don't agree that this is the finest help of its kind you have ever read return A MARRIAGE MANUAL and pay nothing. If, however, you decide to keep it, remit only $4.95 plus mailing costs as payment in full. At all bookstores, or mail coupon to: SIMON AND SCHUSTER, Dept. 48, 630 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 10020.

***About the authors of* A MARRIAGE MANUAL**

DRS. HANNAH and Abraham Stone are known internationally as leaders and authorities in the field of marriage and family life. Together they opened the first marriage consultation center in America at the Community Church in New York.

Dr. Abraham Stone was one of the founders and president of the American Association of Marriage Counselors and a member of the faculty of the New York University College of Medicine and of the New School for Social Research. In 1947, he was given the Lasker Award for his contribution to marriage and family planning.

AT NO EXTRA COST with each copy of A MARRIAGE MANUAL

THE COMPLETE BOOK OF BIRTH CONTROL. New and first of its kind. *All* the latest information. The new pills. Contraceptive techniques and products (addresses of manufacturers). The rhythm method. Views of religious groups. Addresses of Planned Parenthood Centers. 152 Pages. Clear, concise, specific. Written by Alan F. Guttmacher, M.D., President, Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

MAIL TODAY FOR 10 DAYS' EXAMINATION

SIMON & SCHUSTER, Publishers, Dept. 48
630 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10020

Please send me a copy of the revised edition of A MARRIAGE MANUAL, in plain wrapper, on approval, together with a copy of THE COMPLETE BOOK OF BIRTH CONTROL. If not convinced that A MARRIAGE MANUAL can be of great help, I may return it within ten days and pay nothing. Otherwise I will send $4.95, plus mailing costs as payment in full.

Name.....
(PLEASE PRINT)
Address.....
Zip
City.....State.....Code.....

☐ SAVE! Check here if you ENCLOSE $4.95 as payment in full — then WE PAY POSTAGE. Same 10-day return privilege with full refund GUARANTEED.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fact that if the loan runs a month longer and after another installment has been paid, it would cost more not less to pay up. Trying to explain at what point the loan started going down and at what point it started going up is apparently too complex for the bank branch's officials. As one of them put it, *my* questions were confusing.

I'm sure this is all perfectly legal and yet banking and finance suddenly seem as much Perrault and Kafka as Giannini. Truth in financing bills are all to the good; better yet, how about some fair limitations on interest?

Allen J. Manzano
Davis, California

Peking and Malcolm X

Sirs:

In your note "Peking and Malcolm X" (*NR* March 27), you quote excerpts from Renmin Ribao (*The People's Daily*), praising Malcolm X in what you call a "poetical eulogy." . . . This shows the blind spot which most whites share concerning the Afro-Americans, the Africans and the Asians. Our values and our heroes are trampled beneath your feet to serve your (white) political exigencies which do not serve our interests. How can it be denied that the same forces which murdered Patrice Lumumba also murdered Malcolm X? Further still, can it be denied that it is the reactionary ruling circles among the whites who are oppressing the Afro-Americans, Africans and Asians?

The truth of the matter lies in your failure to understand or recognize African nationalism, Asian nationalism or Black nationalism among Afro-Americans. It does not serve white America's interest to allow the Afro-Americans self-determination or national liberation. And this is really what any nationalism is all about. But in order to maintain white domination of the Afro-American, you must offer all sorts of platitudes which the ruling class has no intention of fulfilling and sow confusion and use the worn-out policies of divide and rule. The fact that Chairman Mao Tse-tung of People's China supports the just struggle for national liberation of the Afro-American people is a good thing. And what you nor any other white American can take away from the great Malcolm X is the fact that for the first time since Marcus Garvey (any snide remarks here?) was world recognition given to an Afro-American leader.

You may be able to confuse and mislead your white readers with the lie that Malcolm X was the victim of a Black Muslim factional quarrel, as you write, but you won't be able to get away with this as far as most Afro-Americans are concerned and the non-whites of the rest of the world. We know (Afro-Americans) who our friends are and who our enemies are. . . .

What even "liberal" whites fail to see and properly recognize is the fact that nowhere are white Americans killing, napalming, bombing, yes and even gassing, other white people. What about the sordid operation financed by the United States in the Congo? Malcolm X will always occupy a place in the hearts of Afro-American, African and Asian people who are struggling to rid themselves of white American imperialist domination, whether white Americans like it or not.

Down with US Imperialism!
Down with neo-colonialism!

Lee M. Edwards, Chairman
Afro-American Committee for African-Asian Solidarity
San Francisco, Calif.

More on Medicare

Sirs:

Since second class mail requires several weeks to reach Saigon, I have only recently received *The New Republic* of 13 February, 1965. Upon reading Mr. Keim's article on Britain's national health scheme I find several points of significant disagreement.

". . . I am convinced that the only freedom lost under National Health is the freedom of the doctors and dentists to charge all that the traffic will bear." General practitioners have in fact lost the freedom to care for their patients in hospital – a much more significant freedom than that noted in the article, as this is basic interference with the physician's freedom to practice medicine.

"In many cases it [care regardless of income] means the difference between adequate and inadequate care, and, yes, even life and death." This statement, with its implied serious criticism of US medical care, demands extensive documentation. Based on my experience while spending two years in training at the Los Angeles County General Hospital where a highly competent senior medical staff and outstanding junior physicians provided exceptional care for the needy of Los Angeles, I anticipate that documentation will be difficult.

"This [lack of worry about financial disaster] cuts down nervous disease and ulcers. . . ." This is possible, but certainly requires well-planned and executed epidemiological inquiry for proof.

". . . [The British citizen] need never worry about being wiped out by an illness, as happens to many Americans every year." Are many Americans wiped out by illness every year?

The statements regarding shortage of hospital facilities are cleverly worded to imply the unjustified conclusion that in ten years Great Britain will have "sufficient modern hospital facilities" while the United States will not. . . . I anticipate that the United States will easily maintain its current more favorable position in modern hospital facilities.

The last paragraph of the article, on finance, is again misleading. Mr. Keim objects to the AMA telling him that "we" shouldn't provide health care for the aged. I assume the "we" is the federal government, which can't really provide health care (although it can *finance* health care) – health care is provided by physicians, dentists, and ancillary personnel. The AMA has an ethical obligation to present its views on the environment within which health care is provided, and Mr. Keim would better object if they did *not* present their views.

United States government statistics clearly show that physician's fees have increased at a slower rate than the average service over the past 25 years. The marked increase in the overall cost of medical care is due primarily to the increase in hospital costs. It is unfair to imply that these costs are essentially related to physicians who "lovede gold in special" when they are in fact exceedingly complex.

Richard A. L. Sturdevant
Captain, MC, USAR
Assistant Preventive Medicine Officer,
MACV, Saigon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DC Home Rule

Sirs:

With your permission, I propose here to give great offense to believers in the juvenile notion that Congress will, or can, grant the denizens of the District of Columbia any meaningful authority of government. The omnibus title for this fraud is called "home rule," and nothing is more calculated to set morons to swaggering about in expectation of exciting publicity, than to utter a cry for the oppressed to gather and "demand" it.

Somewhat more than thirty years ago I began to investigate the realities in the matter and at least twenty five years ago I proposed, seriously, in public . . . a simple, reasonable and attainable solution, for which there is precedent in law and proof in fact.

Let Congress pass a simple act receding to Maryland the present and total District of Columbia, as a single, new county. Just think what mischief we could do, then, to the ordained powers in the so-called Free State. The very thought terrifies them. When I first proposed this Mr. Yardley had a cartoon in the Baltimore Sun suggesting that if we get in Baltimore get out. I don't blame them. That wicked old seaport rightly knows that the entry of so sophisticated, contentious and inventive a body of voters would end a good thing it has been enjoying for the better part of 300 years; but for us it would be sheer delight.

We could ruin the nights for two Senators, one governor, a whole assortment of less visible and more noxious personages, and all at much less cost to ourselves than by any other possible means. We might even have a well governed community of our own, having the resource of extortion and blackmail to practice down at Annapolis on the State Assembly, and on that account, some true and important leverage with and in Congress, itself. Of course, since this act of recession is perfectly sensible and desirable, would produce much good and limit mischief, simpltons will object. . . . As an isolated entity we would be even less powerful than we are, now. As a part of Maryland, we would have real political strength.

Frank C. Waldrop
Washington, D.C.

HOW TO SAVE MONEY ON BOOKS

As a New Republic *Reader*

You Can Buy Books at 20%

Off The Retail Price . . .

Mail To: **THE NEW REPUBLIC**

Shipping department • 1244 19th Street, N.W. • Washington, D. C.

Please send me a copy of each book I have checked off below.

- ☐ Viorst: *Hostile Allies: FDR and de Gaulle* . . . . . (retail price – $6.95) PRICE $5.56
- ☐ Longford: *Queen Victoria* . . . . . (retail price – $8.50) PRICE $6.80
- ☐ Cecil: *Max* . . . . . (retail price – $6.95) PRICE $5.56
- ☐ Pushkin-Nabokov: *Eugene Onegin* . . . . . (retail price – $18.50) PRICE $14.80
- ☐ Boll: *The Clown* . . . . . (retail price – $5.00) PRICE $4.00
- ☐ Goodman: *Seeds of Liberation* . . . . (retail price – $7.50) PRICE $6.00

TOTAL: _____*

* My check for this amount is enclosed.

Name _____
(please print)

Street _____

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

Briefly: you may purchase any book reviewed in *The New Republic* for 20 percent less than its retail price. Some of the volumes reviewed recently are listed on the coupon with the bookstore prices and the lower rates to which you're entitled as a reader of *The New Republic.*

Your check must accompany the order. (We cannot bill you because the bookkeeping and clerical costs would be prohibitive.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Best value? **OUI!**
Most useful? **CERTAINEMENT!**

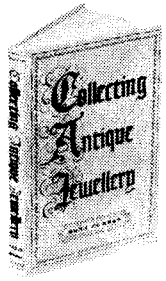
LAROUSSE
MODERN FRENCH-ENGLISH, ENGLISH-FRENCH DICTIONARY

Illustrated
1552 pages
Now only $7.50

McGraw-Hill

COLLECTING ANTIQUE JEWELLERY

By Mona Curran



This unique manual by an outstanding expert tells you what treasure to hunt for, and how to seek out "finds," period pieces, etc. You learn to tell antique jewelry from junk, and treasure from trash. Loaded with precious hints for the collector, and warnings of pitfalls to avoid. With this handbook, plus a willingness to explore and surprisingly little money, you can now acquire your own original and exciting collection of stones, rings, earrings, necklaces and pendants, bracelets, ornaments, brooches, etc., etc. A single hint may save you many times the cost of the book. 32 crystal-clear photos and drawings show typical examples in great detail.

ORDER NOW!
$4.50 Postfree • 10-Day Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS Inc., Dept. 326-P
251 West 19th Street, New York 11

Need Extra Money For College?

Earn generous commissions selling student and faculty subscriptions to *The New Republic*. An opportunity to be campus agent for the fast-growing *New Republic*, America's leading liberal weekly.

Send for complete sales packet and information on money-making possibilities.

Write to:

Campus Agent Department
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

EUROPE

An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

GRADUATE STUDENT (Sociology) seeking summer employment in NYC. Dick Harman, 5703 Locust, Kansas City, Missouri.

RUSSIAN – Translation competently done by native speaker, high school teacher. Write Box 375 The New Republic.

EXPERIENCED WRITER-EDITOR, 36, seeks new position in Chicago with organization which values integrity, imagination, craftsmanship. Married, degree, solidly employed now. Background includes some administration, policy-making. Box 380 The New Republic.

WILL CARE FOR CHILDREN, TENDERLY this summer. Senior life saving, sailing, camping experience. High school senior. Prefer beach or island resort, natch. $25 weekly, plus transportation to and from Washington, D. C. Box 400 The New Republic.

CO-OP VITAMINS and pharmaceuticals by mail (postage paid). Best quality, large savings. FREE CATALOG. Write Celo Laboratories, Burnsville 2, N. C.

FACULTY OWNED COLLEGE for bright students. Blake College, Valle de Bravo, Estado de Mexico.

WANT BUSINESS FINANCING? Get special report: "Capital Available." Lists many risk-loan, venture capital and private sources. Free! Business Opportunities Digest, 519-NRC Center, Racine, Wis.

LAUGH WITH US AT THE RETREAT TO THE SUBURBS! Move to Washington's truly "good" truly integrated neighborhood – the Neighbors Inc. area. We cherish our large homes and welcome imaginative occupants. We are proud of our good schools because we insist upon them. To use our volunteer Housing Information Service write: N.I., 623 Highland Ave., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20012.

WORLD DEMOCRACY: By Bin Dir Woor. Unique. Entrancing. Book stories $2. Bin Dir Woor asks total humanity, living and dead, before and after death, to work and pray for the transformation of this little star into a World Democracy. 15 S. Second Street, Haines City, Fla.

10½" CAPE COD Weather Glass. Accurately forecasts weather. Artfully handblown. Perfect gift for yachtsman or golfer. Money back guarantee. $4.95. Check or M.O. to: Dekor Contracting Company, Inc., 15 Bond Street, Great Neck, New York.

BOTTOMS UP! Step-by-step instructions tell and show you how to weave a new seat for your antique chair. Send for 63-page illustrated booklet. $2.00 Postpaid. Marion Burr Sober, Joy Road Studio-1, Plymouth, Michigan.

GOVERNOR WALLACE: MAY GOD HAVE MERCY ON YOUR SOUL, bumper stickers . . . $1, 75c with orders of five or more. All proceeds go to the cause of civil rights. Box 36051, 2650 Haste, Berkeley, Calif.

EPICUREAN TREAT

Our fine handmade cigars at prices you pay for ordinary machine-made cigars. Cigars made by skilled craftsmen, of finest tobacco leaf. Order direct from our factory. Be kind to yourself *and* your budget.

	BOX OF 50
ELEGANTES – 7 in. Slim	$13.75
CORONA GORDAS – 6 in. Superthick	16.50
CORONAS – 5 in. Medium Thick	10.00

State choice of wrapper: English Market Selection, (Medium Claro); Candela, (Extra Claro); Maduro (Dark).

CIGAR CRAFTSMEN'S GUILD
2008 14th Street
Tampa, Florida 33605

RENT: Large, extra cool apartment in quiet South Jersey seashore village. Near ocean, lake, bird sanctuary. Special seasonal rates. 609-GL 1-2515.

TARTAN SKIRTS, yardage, handknits, bedspreads. SCOTLAND, 6531 Earl, Seattle, Wash.

PUBLISHER'S READER, book-magazine writer revises fiction-non-fiction, French-English. Box 335 The New Republic.

RIVER RATS ASSEMBLE. Run rapids, rough water in deep Western Canyons. Voyageurs need sneakers and expendable clothing. Wild River Expeditions, Box 930-R, Aspen, Colorado.

HELP DEFEAT worst racist in Byrd Machine. Liberal Democrat running against State Senator Garland Gray of Waverly. Send contributions to Stronach for State Senate Committee, P.O. Box 1547, Petersburg, Va.

FOR SALE. I have 250 acres of land in Northern Vermont that I believe to be wooded. The tracts are in the town of Lowell and go up a mountain side to the top. The lands are near the mines of the Vermont Asbetos Company. I want $25.00 per acre and will take a mortgage back with 6% interest for one half of the purchase price. There are no buildings. Taxes are $45.45 per year. Write: Raymond B. Daniels, Box 115, Woodbury, Vermont.

BUY FABULOUS Christmas Cards. Now at 50 percent off. $5.00 Box – $2.50 P.P. $7.50 Box – $3.75 P.P. $10.00 Box – $5.00 P.P. You will be delighted or your money refunded. Erler Camera, 1540 E. 83rd St., Chicago, Illinois 60619.

HANDY FILE for your copies of NEW REPUBLIC. Keep issues neat, clean, orderly. Store nicely on bookshelves. Washable leatherette cover with gold lettering. Holds 24 copies. $2.95 each, (3 for $8.10). Satisfaction or money back. J. Sichel, 240 Main Street, East Rockaway, N.Y.

READ AT HOME ON FREE TRIAL the innovational and controversial book about the real nature of man written by a renegade American psychoanalyst. Find out why the critics closed their eyes. No obligation to buy. Free details and circular. Write Book Division, National Mailcraft, Room 2002, 6 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago 60602.

WANDA LANDOWSKA'S CHOICE: metal frame harpsichords. Write to Sabathil & Son, Vancouver, Canada.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

289 EUROPEAN HOTELS – 168 cities, 24 countries covered in latest list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, addresses. $1.00: Voyager LTD, Box 24684 NR, Los Angeles 24, Calif.

"AGE 18 VOTE!" bumper stickers, two for $1. John Collins, Dept. R, Box 2846, Santa Monica, Calif., 90405.

BUDGETARRYING BLISS! Danish Guest House, 263 Duffaut, Santurce, Puerto Rico.

SUN-BLEACHED COW SKULL from L.B.J. country. $10. Texas Skull Co., General Delivery, Johnson City, Tex.

D-ARROW CANOE TRIPS. 36 boys, 11-17. Four age groups. On Grand Lake, Maine. Seven weeks. Lake, white water trips: Maine, Canada. Quaker leadership. George D. Darrow, 780 Millbrook Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

I GUARANTEE overseas airmail delivery of ANY MEDICINE IN THE WORLD. Write for quotation, naming country. Bernard Schiller, Aiken and Walnut, Pittsburgh 32.

PENN/WHARTON Underachiever, now law student, seeking summer work on East Coast, particularly, Philadelphia-NYC; Benefield, 735 Asp, Norman, Oklahoma.

ONE MILLION DOLLARS WANTED for crash program to organize World Constitutional Convention now with both Government and People's delegates. World Committee, 8800 West 14th, Lakewood, Colo. Phone 233-3548. Small contributions welcome.

MEDITATION? Practice produces understanding and insight. A one-year bi-monthly meditation training course without fee. Write MEDITATIONS, Box 1244, Greenwich, Conn. 06831.

"UNLIKE ANY OTHER MAGAZINE!" The Booklover's Answer, fascinating national magazine for book collectors. Pick up a copy at your favorite bookstore; or send $1.00 for introductory package of recent issues. The Booklover's Answer, Webster 9, New York.

NEW INDIVIDUALIST REVIEW, a quarterly journal of classical liberal thought, invites you to question the conventional wisdom of the modern left. $2.00 for four issues (students $1.00). Sample on request. New Individualist Review, Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago 60637.

FOOT COMFORT. Double deerskin, sheepskin moccasins, boots, slippers, casuals. 50 styles. Also extra large sizes. Send for free catalog. Also free catalog for deerskin suede hats, vests, shirts, jackets, gloves, books, slippers. The Cottage Crafts Shop, Rutland, Vt. 05701, 116 North Main St., on Route 7 North.

ADVENTURE AT YOUR FINGERTIPS–Fishing in Fiji. Sailing on The Sahara, Beachcombing in Bali. Unusual vacation ideas for the individualist. Venturesome Vacations, P.O. Box 735, Dept. A, Miami, Florida.

FUN TO READ. The Idler is an individualistic liberal monthly that entertains while it informs. Send $3 for year's subcription. Money refunded if you don't enjoy this unusual magazine. IDLER, 125 Fifth St. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002.

ESQUIRE, 1 year $4.00; TV Guide, 65 issues $5.80; Life, 35 issues $3.00. Pollocks Magazine Service, Little Silver, New Jersey.

MEMBERS EXCHANGE HOMES for rent free vacations. Write Vacations Exchange Club, 554 Fifth Avenue, New York 36.

21 WAYS TO SAVE ON YOUR PHONE BILL. Send $1 to American Telephone Consumers Council, 1133-H Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10036.

HUMANISM acknowledges no supernatural power; believes that morality is based on the knowledge that men are interdependent and, therefore, responsible to one another; works to improve human life everywhere. Programs include: maximum use of science for social welfare; human rights; church/state relations; planned parenthood; penal reform; the United Nations; a better life and a better world. Free information: American Humanist Association, Humanist House, Department NR3, Yellow Springs, Ohio.

FREE WORLDWIDE SEARCH SERVICE for out-of print books in any language: The Compleat Bookman, Box 148, Northport, L.I., N.Y. 11768

20 BEAUTIFUL BLACK & WHITE WALLET SIZE prints and 1 5x7 in folder–$3.00 postpaid; made from any slide, negative or photo. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Camera, 1540 East 83rd Street, Chicago 19, Illinois.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS – All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

HARPSICORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Maryland.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $11.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 37 East Willow Street, Millburn, N.J.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! – Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch, wire and safety resistor, $1.50 The Silencer, P.O. Box 106, Berkeley 1, California.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS Supplied. Access to one million books, magazines. Ardent BookFinders Dept. NR, 19 Salem, Cos Cob, Conn.

VACATION AND TRAVEL CLUB. Free registration. Write Mrs. Ingrid Shark, PO Box 2836, Washington, D.C. 20013.

"WILL FORMS." Two will forms and book on wills. $1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles 48, Calif.

LOCATE BOOKS! Fla. Bookhunters. Box 15070-R. Orlando, Florida.

YOUR HANDWRITING REVEALS character, hidden talents, potentials, flaws, your health, personality. Send three pages, $5.00 for astonishing professional evaluation. Graph-Lab, Box 12-M, Olympia, Washington.

BEAUTIFUL BLACK AND WHITE 8x10 ENLARGEMENT from any photo, negative or slide–$2.00 postpaid. Satisfaction guaranteed. Erler Cameras, 1540 E. 83rd St., Chicago, Illinois 60619.

ARTHUR MORGAN SCHOOL. For grades 7, 8 and 9. Small coeducational boarding and day school. Liberal Quaker leadership. Beautiful mountain setting. Combines academic program with active work. Write Arthur Morgan School, Burnsville 2, N.C.

FOLK MUSIC RECORDINGS OF CONSISTENT QUALITY Authentic traditional singers, instrumentalists; tasteful interpreters. For descriptive catalog, write: Dept. NR, Folk-Legacy Records, Inc., Huntington, Vermont.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia Washington.

YOGURT RECIPE! Simple, economical. . . . $1.00 Yogurt, 67 Wellington Road, East Brunswick, N.J.

FOR ANTIQUARIANS still shooting black and white films, finest quality enlargements 5x7—35c, 8x10—44c, 11x14—95c, 16x20—$2.50. Please add postage. Foto Portrait Co., 1173 Ogden Ave., New York 10452.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

NAME THE BOOK – We'll get it. CHICAGO BOOK MART, Chicago Heights 331, Illinois.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

SMOKE A PIPE? Fine Australian Pipe Tobacco Rich – Cool – Full Flavor – 4 Blends Ppd. $2.00. Pipe catalog FREE. Sussex House, 2810 State St. Santa Barbara, Cal.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 20c
Per word 6 times in one contract year....18c
Per word 13 times in one contract year....17c
Per word 26 times in one contract year....14c
Per word 48 times in one contract year....13c

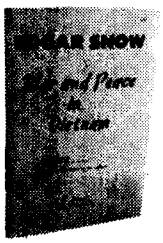
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

Printed by National Publishing Co. 301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG –
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

R IN VIETNAM

WHAT IS HAPPENING TO AMERICAN SANITY ?



HOW?

A. The wartime break-up of the French and Japanese empires strengthened Communist-led nationalism which then prevented French reconquest (1946-54). FDR had come to terms with this development (Ho Chi Minh worked with Donovan's OSS) but it was anathema to the Eisenhower-Dulles administration. Dulles refused to sign the Geneva agreements, and, step-by-step, beginning with 800 military "advisers," half surreptitiously involved the US into a commitment that has now become an active belligerency. The most qualified American expert on the Far East gives a concise, incontrovertible history. Pamphlet 65c

WHY?

B. Dulles' delusion of American omnipotence, widely shared, and his self-righteous crusade against Communism made him regard neutral and left-coalition governments as America's enemies. He set up SEATO as a cover for his interference throughout Southeast Asia. With American support, right-wing generals in Laos broke up the neutral government; Bao Dai, Diem, and a series of military dictators ruled in South Vietnam. As the population resisted, American take-over became inevitable. Two experts give the political and economic developments to the present
Paperback, $1.95

WHITHER?

C. Edgar Snow's current interview with Mao Tse-tung (*New Republic* Feb. 27, 1965) brings up to date his coverage of Chinese leaders and policies—the only American correspondent allowed to visit China by the State Department. Snow's extensive knowledge of USSR and US foreign policies make him uniquely qualified to ferret out long-term trends in the Far East. With a special introduction by the author, this 200 page book is a reprint of the analytical section of Snow's massive study, *The Other Side of The River,* published at $10.00. Brilliantly, he presents the alternatives before the U.S. today. Paperback $2.35

ALL 4 for $5.00 – postpaid

Single copies at list price, postpaid.

From time to time we have special offers. If you wish to be on our list, send in the coupon with 25¢. You will get our offers, and, with our compliments, a reprint of RETURN TO CUBA by Herbert L. Matthews of the New York Times.

1954-1965

"I have never talked or corresponded with a person knowledgeable in Indochinese affairs who did not agree that had elections been held as of the time of the fighting [1954] 80 percent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader."

President Dwight D. Eisenhower

"Mr. President, the time has come [1954] for the American people to be told the blunt truth about Indochina. . . . I am frankly of the belief that no amount of American military assistance in Indochina can conquer an enemy which is everywhere and . . . has the sympathy and covert support of the people."

Senator John F. Kennedy

"The guerrilla war in South Vietnam is in its fifth year [1964] and no end appears in sight. The Viet Cong in the South, *dependent largely upon their own resources* . . . are pressing their offensive . . . Diem's successors have not yet demonstrated the leadership and inspiration necessary."

CIA Working Paper (italics added)

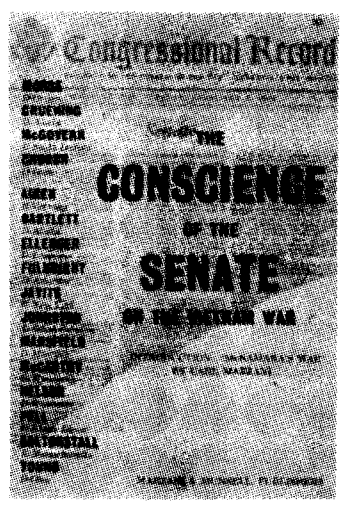
"Today the rebellion in South Vietnam is popular. North Vietnam and China support it, but it has a life of its own. Neither Hanoi nor Peking commands the Viet Cong."

Former French Premier Edgar Faure

"We should never have gone in. We should never have stayed in. We should get out."

Senator Wayne Morse

16 SENATORS SAY: NEGOTIATE!



D. *This compact 24-page pamphlet reveals the stirring fight of a gallant band of fearless senators to restore sanity to our foreign policy. Excerpted at length from the Congressional Record, 1963 - 1965, their little-known speeches present incontrovertible arguments to convince your neighbors, and mobilize popular support for these Senators.*

Postpaid: 3 copies for $1.00; 20 for $5.00; 100 for $15.00

Marzani & Munsell 100 W. 23 St., N.Y.C., N.Y. 10011

Gentlemen:

☐ Send me all four items for $5.00, postpaid

☐ Send me as circled A B C D. Enclosed $ .....

☐ Send me your catalogue and special offers. Enclosed 25c

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP CODE .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED